

Occupy Madison Village: A Case Study of the Lived Experience

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my husband and Those Nice Longworths – thank you for the long phone calls spent just listening and the occasional dose of tough love.

Abstract

In December 2018, The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development conducted its annual point-in-time homeless assessment study. The study estimated the national homeless count as 553,000, an increase from the previous 2017 report. Developments of tiny house villages, as an alternative approach to the on-going challenge of housing the homeless, were found in several regions of the country. The purpose of the case study was to describe the phenomenon of people with a history of homelessness living in Occupy Madison Village, a tiny house village located in Madison, Wisconsin. Participant narratives were analyzed to identify themes and describe their perceptions of the experience. The advocates for the Occupy Madison Village creatively combined best practices from multiple approaches of housing and community development. The objective was to pull together elements of governance, community-based decision making, and communal living elements. Descriptions of participatory governance, decision making, and design created an environment that encouraged individuals to develop place and community attachment. Themes of place and community attachment emerged from examples of personalization of the space, sense of belonging, length of residency, purpose, and community participation. The integration of community focused principles of cooperative housing and cohousing and place and community attachment encouraged experiences that generated long term residency, self-efficacy, leadership skills, and community engagement.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This phenomenological case study was an exploratory study of formerly homeless individuals bounded by the membership of a tiny house village. A case study approach to exploring the lived experience of formerly homeless individuals was appropriate for a complex research problem requiring a detailed understanding of thematic definitions and meanings (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2018). This study assisted to fill the gap in literature by exploring how individuals with a history of homelessness described the experience of living in a tiny house village.

Background

In December 2018, The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development conducted its annual point-in-time homeless assessment study. The point-in-time study, an annual study conducted by local Continuums of Care (CoC) organizations “responsible for coordinating the full range of homelessness services in a geographic area”, provided an estimation of the annual homeless population (Henry et al., 2018, p. 2). The point-in-time study estimated the national homeless count as 553,000, an increase of 0.3 percent from the previous 2017 report, and a two percent increase in the number of individuals living in unsheltered places (Henry et al., 2018). It was reported that over half of individuals living in unsheltered conditions were located in large metropolitan areas and over a fifth of the individuals were living in rural areas (Henry et al., 2018). The increase in individuals experiencing homelessness was attributed to an increase in the number of individuals living in unsheltered conditions; however, this was still an overall 11% decrease since the 2007 report (Henry et al., 2018).

Homeless sheltered conditions included living with friends or family members, temporary housing such as a hotel or motel room, institutional settings (hospitals, rehabilitation centers, treatment programs, or jails), emergency shelters, or homeless residential programs (Henry et al., 2018). According to the point-in-time report, the majority of homeless individuals were able to find some form of overnight shelter; however, 34 % of individuals were living in unsheltered spaces not meant to accommodate overnight sleeping (Henry et al., 2018). Traditionally homeless individuals were described as single adults who slept in creative alternative shelters, such as vacant structures, bridge over passes, park benches, or doubling-up with family and friends (Henry et al., 2018).

Tent encampments, while not a form of sustainable housing due to substandard building materials, safety and sanitary issues, neighborhood blight, NIMBY-ism, and overall ethical concerns, were occasionally considered an affordable interim option for shelter (Loftus-Farrn, 2011). Tent encampments, an informal self-help approach for shelter, were often a temporary alternative housing approach when options were limited or municipalities were developing other sustainable forms of housing (Loftus-Farrn, 2011). Municipalities experienced with self-organized informal shelter had mixed public and governmental reaction regarding the ethical benefits, community safety, and sanitation concerns (Loftus-Farrn, 2011). It was common for neighborhood opposition, concerned with safety, substandard conditions, increased crime, and declining property values, to express resistance through a 'not in my backyard' (NIMBY-ism) attitude. The community resistance often led to municipal restrictions in the form of housing codes, zoning restrictions, and anti-camping and trespass ordinances resulting in eviction

(Loftus-Farrn, 2011). Despite barriers and opposition, tent encampment communities often showed signs of autonomy which tended to progress toward self-imposed governance, enforcement, and security provided by community members and leaders (Loftus-Farrn, 2011). Through perseverance, resiliency, and community advocacy, several tent encampments evolved into community accepted tiny house villages.

Tiny house communities, described as a recent housing movement that focused on housing design features of smaller footprints and sustainable materials, were considered environmentally friendly, and more financially affordable (Loftus-Farrn, 2011). The trendy approach to housing design was categorized as ‘tiny houses’ and provided an alternative approach in housing design and community development. Tiny houses as a sustainable affordable alternative to traditional housing required further study; however, tiny houses as a nontraditional housing alternative for housing the homeless was gaining support (Ford & Gomez-Lanier, 2017).

Developments of tiny house villages, as an alternative approach to the on-going challenge of housing the homeless, were found in several regions of the country (Keable, 2017; Mingoya, 2015; Turner, 2017). This case study explored a nonprofit tiny house village, Occupy Madison Village, located in Madison, Wisconsin. During a personal communication with Brenda Konkel, community activist and the developer of Occupy Madison Village, she described the characteristics of the first stewards of the tiny houses as having tenacity, passion, and were “. . . people who weren’t going to give up.”

Engagement between the homeless encampment members, community activists, and city officials led to a four-year process of encampment and eviction. The challenges of early attempts to find housing solutions impacted the continuity of the original

homeless cohort. As they slowly dispersed through-out the city, a reduced number of the tent encampment residents persisted to find housing solutions and became the original founding members of a tiny house village for the homeless. Individuals with experience living in the tent encampments and community activists uncovered a former auto mechanic garage needing extensive renovations offered for sale. The study participants and key informants described a challenging process of community engagement between the civic leaders, community residents, architects, developers, and activists. Tenacious advocates engaged in the tedious and often embroiled process of changing zoning compliance and coding regulations for the acquired property. In 2014 the city of Madison acknowledged tiny houses as allowable portable shelters and granted permission to Occupy Madison, Inc. to develop a portable shelter community. After a long process of city compliance and neighborhood engagement, the auto mechanic garage located on a corner parcel on the east side of Madison, was renovated to include a woodworking shop, product store, kitchenette area, and bathroom. The privacy fenced village included five tiny houses centered on a communal garden and accommodated a three phased expansion for nine tiny houses.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of the study was to describe the phenomenon of people with a history of homelessness living in Occupy Madison Village, a tiny house village located in Madison, Wisconsin. Participant narratives were analyzed to identify their perceptions of the experience. Implications were developed to inform urban planners, community developers, and housing advocates. By providing a contextual understanding of the lived experience for an often voiceless population, community developers and organizers may

evaluate community needs by incorporating best practices from a variety of housing approaches to develop positive housing alternatives for individuals experiencing homelessness.

Research Question

This case study followed qualitative methods; therefore, a research question was developed rather than a hypothesis. This provided a broad exploration of the phenomenon following established qualitative inquiry to create meaning and describe relationships from the participants' perspective.

The following was the salient research question of the case study:

What is the lived experience of individuals with a history of homelessness living in a tiny house village?

Overview of Methodology

The researcher's epistemological perspective within the case study was constructivism (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Meaning was constructed through the participants' voice and interaction within the context of the phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2018). A comprehensive organized reflective approach throughout the emerging design allowed the researcher to develop an advocate voice reflecting the experience of the individuals impacted by the phenomenon of residing in a tiny house village after long term homelessness. The study provided understanding of multiple individual experiences bounded by a geographical location and phenomenological site.

This phenomenological case study was an exploration of multiple formerly homeless individuals bounded by membership in a tiny house village. An intrinsic bounded case study was appropriate for exploring a complex research problem requiring

a detailed understanding of a sample bounded by a geographical location defined as a tiny house village. The study incorporated comprehensive qualitative approaches through-out the research process, immersion in a natural setting, inductive reasoning, multiple perspectives and meanings, and reflexivity for contextual understanding (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Qualitative data collection instruments and design structure focused on the exploration and description of lived experiences to reflect the participants' voices (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Interviews were transcribed verbatim and provided audio question and answer context. Participant cadence, emotion, and wording contributed to data analysis. The qualitative iterative data analysis and coding process of first level open coding and second level categorical identified concepts and categories of thematic meanings and relationships (Saldana, 2016). The literature review bracketed phenomenological preconceptions by exploring emergent themes of community focused housing approaches, such as, cooperative housing and co-housing, and place and community attachment throughout the analysis process (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). Exploration of the lived experience was further enhanced by the participants' shared stories and interpretations of constructed meanings through experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Findings provided descriptions of the bounded case for contextual understanding and descriptive salient themes through the participants own words (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012).

Role of the Researcher

Qualitative research required the researcher to interact with the participants as a data collector and active participant within the exploration, allowing for a robust exploration of the research questions (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Through journaling, I

was able to describe my personal journey throughout each step of the study, while striving to honor the participants' authentic voice. The direct and interpersonal relationship between the researcher and participants required personal self-reflection as I was called to confront my own philosophies and biases towards housing and homelessness. I acknowledged my personal bias toward homeownership, affordable housing, and housing as a right. I did not have personal experience with homelessness, or any personal experience living in a tiny house; however, I have worked at a homeless shelter and lived in communities with a diverse homeless population, and therefore had a bias to advocate for stable housing for vulnerable individuals.

Significance of Study

The study provided understandings of multiple individual experiences bounded by a geographical location and phenomenological context with pre-tested data collection instruments and design structure (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The case study furthered understanding for alternative housing approaches for people with a history of homelessness who gravitated toward tiny house structures. By providing a contextual understanding of the relationship between tiny house villages and the lived experience of a voiceless population, community developers and organizers may evaluate community needs by designing well informed and appropriate supportive housing approaches.

Definitions of Key Terminology

For the purpose of understanding, key terminologies used during the study were defined.

Bounded Case Study: A case study is an in depth exploration of a “contemporary phenomenon” of a unique contemporary situation clarified by boundaries of time, place,

group, organization, or relationships (Yin, 2018, p. 15). Yin (2018) defined additional features of the case study as:

A case study benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide design, data collection, and analysis, and as another result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion.

(p. 15)

Cohousing: The Cohousing Association of the United States defined cohousing as follows (“What is Cohousing?,” 2015):

Cohousing is an intentional community of private homes clustered around shared space. Each attached or single family home has traditional amenities, including a private kitchen. Shared spaces typically feature a common house, which may include a large kitchen and dining area, laundry, and recreational spaces. Shared outdoor space may include parking, walkways, open space, and gardens.

neighbors also share resources like tools and lawnmowers. Households have independent incomes and private lives, but neighbors collaboratively plan and manage community activities and shared spaces. The legal structure is typically a Home Owners Associations, Condominium Association, or Housing Cooperative.

Community Attachment: Community attachment, similar to place attachment, was a bonding process through social engagement and organizational membership and participation (Dekker, 2007; Hummon, 1992). Community attachment, less focused on the relationship between the individual and the physical residential environment, was more focused on the individual’s social relationship to the neighborhood (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Hummon, 1992).

Cooperative Housing: Occupy Madison Village self -identified as ‘cooperative living’.

The participants described several similar experiences as outlined in the seven principles of a cooperative by the International Cooperative Alliance Voluntary (Northcountry Cooperative Foundation, 2003, p. 3):

1. Voluntary and open membership
2. Democratic member control
3. Member economic participation
4. Autonomy and independence
5. Education, training, and information
6. Cooperation among cooperatives
7. Concern for community

Self-governance, democratic decision making, and member participation of cooperative living experiences described by the study participants and key informants informed the study in exploring cooperative housing.

Homeless: There were several official definitions of homeless; this study used the definition from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development ‘Changes in the HUD Definition of Homeless’ because it affects the eligibility of individuals obtaining housing assistance (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2012):

People who are living in a place not meant for human habitation, in emergency shelter, in transitional housing, or are exiting an institution where they temporarily resided. The only significant change from existing practice is that people will be considered homeless if they are exiting an institution where they

resided for up to 90 days (it was previously 30 days), and were in shelter or a place not meant for human habitation immediately prior to entering that institution. (p. 1)

NIMBY: “Acronym for ‘Not In My Backyard’, described the phenomenon in which residents of a neighborhood designate a new development (i.e. shelter, housing, group home) or change in occupancy of an existing development as inappropriate or unwanted in their local area” (“NIMBY (Not in My Backyard),” 2018).

Place Attachment: There is a spectrum of definitions of place attachment including the multidimensionality of physical and social process of the person-place attachment, although place attachment researchers offer several interrelated concepts, most researchers agreed upon “the bonding of people to places” (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 2). There are other researchers that include the social component of relationship development during the attachment process; this study explored both environment and relationship components of place attachment through the shared experiences of the participants.

Stewardship: Stewardship as defined by Merriam-Webster:

The conducting, supervising, or managing of something; the careful and responsible management of something entrusted to one's care (“Stewardship,” 2019).

Sweat Equity: Habitat for Humanity, an affordable home building organization that encouraged future homeowners to participate in sweat equity as a form of personal investment, defined sweat equity:

The contribution to a project or enterprise in the form of effort and toil. Sweat equity is the ownership interest, or increase in value, that is created as a direct result of hard work by the owner(s). It is the preferred mode of building equity for cash-strapped entrepreneurs in their start-up ventures, since they may be unable to contribute much financial capital to their enterprise (Kenton, 2018).

Tiny House Village: This study used the City of Madison definition of ‘tiny house’, described as ‘portable shelters’, and ‘residential cooperative village’, described as ‘portable shelter communities’. City of Madison Mayor Paul Soglin outlined the definitions in memorandum *Regulation of tiny house village proposed for 2046-2050 E. Johnson St.* (Soglin, 2014). The city decided to use terms consistent with existing regulatory structure, therefore, ‘tiny houses’ was defined as ‘portable shelters’, and ‘residential cooperative village’ was defined as “portable shelter communities”. The City of Madison defined tiny houses as portable shelters (Soglin, 2014):

Portable Shelter. Any movable living quarters, no more than 150 square feet in area, used as an individual’s permanent place of habitation. For purposes of this definition, a permanent place of habitation is established when an individual lives in a portable shelter for four (4) consecutive months.

Portable Shelter Community. Any site, lot, parcel, or tract of land designed maintained, intended or used for the purpose of supplying a location or accommodations for more than three (3) portable shelters and shall include all buildings included or intended for use as part of the Portable Shelter Community.

(p. 1)

Unsheltered: Individuals living ‘unsheltered’ identified overnight accommodations. The definition was a living experience described by the participants of this study, therefore, I found it to be an appropriate definition (Henry et al., 2018):

People whose primary nighttime location is a public or private place not designated for, or ordinarily used as, a regular sleeping accommodation for people (for example, the streets, vehicles, or parks). (p. 3)

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of the case study was to describe the phenomenon of people with a history of homelessness living in Occupy Madison Village, a tiny house village located in Madison, Wisconsin. The geographical bounded case study design was appropriate for exploring the complexity of living in a tiny house village after a history of long term homelessness. As the analysis identified emergent themes, related topics were reviewed, summarized and included in the chapter. The five participants in this study had former experiences with homelessness and tent encampments; therefore, the researcher also reviewed literature, documents, and media for contextual understanding of homeless encampments and the history of Occupy Madison Village.

The researcher engaged in an iterative process of data analysis and literature research throughout the second and third level coding. The iterative relationship between the data and the literature developed from the identification of interconnections between participants' descriptions of their experiences. This chapter was organized by the emergent themes from the participants' descriptions of their experiences; each section informed the case study as a purposeful literature review based upon the study's findings and emergent themes. Gaps in the literature were identified within each section. The chapter was concluded with a summary of the thematic interconnectedness, and how the research literature influenced the study framework and conceptual model.

Homelessness

In 2019, The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development reported findings from its annual 2018 point-in-time study estimating the national homeless count as 553,000, an increase of 0.3 percent from the previous 2017 report, and a two percent increase in the number of individuals living unsheltered (Henry et al., 2018). An individual earning the federal minimum wage of \$7.25 working 40 hours per week would not be able to afford a two bedroom market rate apartment (Aurand et al., 2018). The National Low Income Housing Coalition report *Out of reach: The high cost of housing* (2018) described “a full-time worker earning the federal minimum wage of \$7.25 needs to work approximately 122 hours per week for all 52 weeks of the year . . . to afford a two-bedroom rental home at national average fair market rent” affected individual housing stability (p. 1).

Researchers, challenged to define, operationalize, and measure housing stability, created a working continuum of “no access to housing or reasonable quality (complete instability)” to “access to housing of reasonable quality in the absence of threats (complete stability)” (Frederick, Chwalek, Hughes, Karabanow, & Kidd, 2014, p. 965). Housing instability, defined as “moving often, having to double up, and/or experiencing homelessness” was associated with substandard living conditions, food insecurity, increased health issues and higher health costs, and higher use of shelters and community public services. Housing instability and homelessness increased individual and community housing cost burdens and racial inequality, and decreased economic growth. Individuals experiencing unstable housing were further affected by

decreased interpersonal relationships, community volunteerism, and organizational participation (Catholic Charities PAPER team, 2017).

Homeless Encampments

Tent encampments, or shanty towns as they were called during the Great Depression, “. . . describe a variety of temporary housing facilities that often use tents. Authorized and unauthorized tent cities, created by and for homeless individuals and families . . . “ (National Coalition for the Homeless, 2010, p. 8). The National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty (2017) *Tent City, USA: The growth of America’s homeless encampments and how community are responding* reported homeless encampments across the country increased in frequency and size after 2012.

Homelessness was associated with rising rents, a shortage of affordable housing, and increased medical debt and an associated “increase in encampments . . . “ (National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, 2017, p. 8). However, Herring & Lutz (2015) reported “no direct relationship between the emergence of large camps and the general expansion in homeless populations” (p. 690).

Homeless encampments varied in size, location, intent, structures, and included smaller impromptu camps for individuals living on the street, larger intentional tent cities organized to protest housing and economic inequalities, purposeful occupation of abandoned spaces, and government sanctioned tent cities designed to fill the gap caused by limited shelter capacity (National Coalition for the Homeless, 2010). For example, in May 2014 the City of Seattle acknowledged current housing and homeless services did not meet the needs of the homeless population due to limited shelters and affordable housing options; city official passed an ordinance legally allowing tent encampments on

public and private sites (Sparks, 2017). The range of tent encampment examples included: New Jack City and Little Tijuana located in Fresno, CA, established in 2002 with 400 residents living in tents or wooden structures as a permanent non-sanctioned site; Dignity Village located in Portland, OR, established in 2000 with 60 residents living in tiny houses as a permanent site self-sponsored nonprofit; and Tent City 4 located in Seattle, WA, established in 2006 with 100 residents living in tents as a mobile nonprofit faith network sponsorship (National Coalition for the Homeless, 2010). Despite purpose or support, tent encampments were often closed by eviction or ‘sweeps’ and residents witnessed the threat of confiscation and destruction of their belongings (Herring, 2014; National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, 2017).

City officials did not often acknowledge the range of problems homeless individuals faced separate from the lack of affordable housing. For example, a Northern California council member explained, “we are here to talk about homelessness, not to fix capitalism” (Sparks, 2017, p. 353). Community decision-makers responded negatively to tent encampments and implemented various policy measures prohibiting encampments in public spaces. Policy measures included utilizing trespass and disorderly conduct statutes, conducting days of sweep notice of eviction, and issuing sweeps of storage facilities after eviction (National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, 2017). City officials were motivated to evict encampment members based on constituents' fears of increased crime, decreased retail customers, and sanitation hazards (Herring, 2014; National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, 2017). Sanitation and substandard living concerns regarding clean water access, sewage disposal, garbage removal, and unsustainable construction

materials brought increased media attention and pressure on government officials (Loftus-Farrn, 2011).

Anxieties among property and business owners, fanned by the media highlighting the illegal nature of the tent encampments, influenced the perception and association between criminality and homelessness (Herring, 2014). Although tent encampments provided a temporary living accommodation, ethical concerns regarding the substandard conditions as an acceptable living accommodation led to a normalization of substandard conditions for low income individuals through the perception, at least they are not sleeping on the street (Herring, 2014). As a result, city government officials responded to the deficiencies of the tent encampments by shifting the spotlight from the need for safe affordable housing to removal of illegal encampments (Loftus-Farrn, 2011).

Any beneficial outcomes from the tent encampments were often overshadowed by the priority to remove the encampments from the cityscape. The tent encampments allowed families to remain living with one another; alternatively, individuals who stayed in shelters often complained that family members were separated into male and female shelters. Additionally, the tent encampments provided a sense of community that was further developed through self-imposed governance and rules for the encampment, such as shared participation, a leadership board, and the restriction of drugs and alcohol (Herring, 2014; Loftus-Farrn, 2011). Friendships were fostered and a sense of community was enhanced through participation and engagement with city officials (Loftus-Farrn, 2011).

The benefits of tent encampments cultivated determination and resilience for those who chose to remain and engage with community leaders. Individuals living in the

encampments gained assistance from neighborhood advocates and felt empowered to work with city officials. Tent encampments, spotlighted through the media, were familiar neighborhood locations which fostered the opportunity for community outreach, advocacy, and participation from neighborhood leaders. Relationships formed between tent encampment leaders, community advocates, and media were leveraged as a channel for the homeless to further attract political and community attention (Herring, 2014).

Personal safety and security of belongings were a priority among individuals who experienced homelessness; they carried their personal belongings in bags or backpacks as they tried to keep personal possessions in close proximity. Homeless individuals who participated in free shelter services were offered an overnight cot and evening and morning meals; however, the clients were required to leave in the early morning with their belongings. For example, Catholic Charities Twin Cities - Higher Ground provided a fee-based shelter model that offered a cot, locker, bedding, showers, towels, and evening and morning meals for \$7.00 per night. Clients were assigned a cot and locker to store possessions from 5:00 p.m. to 10:00 a.m.; although clients were not allowed in the facility from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., assigned lockers provide storage for personal possessions during the day (“Higher Ground Shelter - Catholic Charities,” 2019). Similarly, the tent encampments did not offer long-term security and stability; however, provided residents a sense of security for their belongings (Loftus-Farrn, 2011).

Advocates and tent encampment residents faced challenges brought by neighborhood residents upset by close proximity to the homeless individuals living in tent encampments. ‘Not in my backyard’ or NIMBY, “. . . the phenomenon in which residents of a neighborhood designate a new development (i.e. shelter, housing, group home) or

change in occupancy of an existing development as inappropriate or unwanted in their local area” was expressed through neighborhood resident resistance due to concerns regarding safety, drug use, crime, and decrease in quality of life, and property values (“NIMBY (Not in My Backyard),” 2018). . However, other than speculation there had been no additional research examining the effect of tent encampments on property values (Loftus-Farrn, 2011). In single family neighborhoods, zoning variances and amended housing codes were required to allow alternative housing structures. The fears of neighborhood residents operationalized NIMBY through exclusionary zoning land use policies, housing codes, and anti-camping and trespassing ordinances (Loftus-Farrn, 2011; Oakley, 2002). Neighborhood residents utilized the restrictions as justification for eviction and relocation (Loftus-Farrn, 2011). Relocation strategies did not often result in a disbandment of the tent encampment even when the homeless were moved further from city amenities and supportive services (Loftus-Farrn, 2011).

Summary

The formation of tent encampments spotlighted housing and economic inequalities. City government officials often approached tent encampments with various policy restrictions and ordinances which reflected neighborhood culture and fears. Various approaches emphasized the range of housing strategies rather than one specific solution to homelessness (Loftus-Farrn, 2011). Health, safety, and ethical considerations connected the need for affordable housing policies to community homelessness. Advocates in Kirkland, Washington, an encampment host site, used a series of community meetings to help residents of a surrounding neighborhood get to know tent encampment residents (Loftus-Farrn, 2011). Strategies and outcomes varied from city to

city; local government would be advised to review cohesive solutions which met local affordable housing needs with input from the tent encampment residents. The gap in understanding the relationship between the growth in homelessness and size and frequency of tent encampments required further research.

Community Focused Housing Approaches

Housing Cooperatives

Housing cooperatives were introduced to the United States in the early 1900s, and have increased in popularity as for-profit and nonprofit affordable housing developments (Sazama, 2000). The cooperative housing framework included a board of directors, membership committees, and member households composed of residents and shareholders who functioned under government laws, and mortgage and deed agreements (Fromm, 1991). Cooperative housing developments were organized communities tied to a specific geographical location in which contractual agreements established membership rights and obligations (Moroni, 2014). Cooperative membership afforded individuals the use of the private residential unit, and any communal space owned by the cooperative. Membership was executed through the purchase of cooperative shares of the building; however, the individual units could either be owned or leased, and included an equity, limited equity, or zero equity model (Leviten-Reid & Campbell, 2016). Affordable housing cooperatives models, such as limited equity and zero equity, had member income restrictions and resale equity limitations (Sazama, 2000).

Cooperatives, governed by an elected board of directors, operated through democratic decision making and shared community expenses for common areas and amenities (Green, Bertrand, Craig, & Kuria, 2013; Moroni, 2014). Volunteerism, was

defined as a behavior where the “goal is to provide help to others, a group, an organization, a cause, or the community at large, without expectation of a material reward” (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p. 3). Researchers reported members who volunteered for board positions had increased skills in “financial, operational, and organization” (Leviten-Reid & Campbell, 2016, p. 477). Participatory democratic decision making within the cooperative provided a voice for the members and strengthened the sense of community (Green et al., 2013; Leviten-Reid & Campbell, 2016). The voluntarily signed membership agreement, between the individual member and the housing community, merged responsibilities and obligations of the physical living site with rules and conduct (Moroni, 2014). The cooperative housing model fostered long-term housing, improved quality of living, lower housing costs, and lower criminal activity (Gray, Marcus, & Carey, 2005; Sazama, 2000).

Cohousing

Cohousing, a European inspired housing approach was a supportive for-profit or non-profit community development; the distinction influenced the type of financing, ownership, and affordability (Fromm, 1991). Traditionally the originating cohousing member residents initiated and participated in a working group during the financing, site selection, and physical design process of the development (Fromm, 1991). Cohousing communities used conventional development financing; however, nonprofit low income developments often relied upon blanket mortgages, federal loans or grants, or privatized project funding rather than having individual units with mortgages (Fromm, 1991). Affordable financing approaches for nonprofit cohousing, limited equity and zero equity cooperative housing, were used to reduce closing costs and property taxes, and

accommodate low-income members who might otherwise not qualify for an individual loan (Fromm, 1991). Forms of ownership included individual, common-interest, nonprofit, partnership, and other forms, such as community land trust and rentals. For example, a community land trust could be held by a nonprofit organization, and leaseholders could either own or rent the units (Fromm, 1991).

Cohousing included the distinct characteristics of member participation in the design, decision making, management, maintenance, and recruitment of other members (Moroni, 2014). The design incorporated private residential zones and interactive community spaces that were prioritized by the community's vision; for example, a development focused on community participation would design larger communal spaces and smaller private residences (Fromm, 1991; Jarvis, 2001; Ruiiu, 2015). Private units were centered on a community garden or designed with windows overlooking community spaces; unit placement, walls, and landscape were used to create privacy (Fromm, 1991; Jarvis, 2001). Communal kitchen and dining rooms offered additional characteristics typical of cohousing communities; the kitchen and dining afforded membership interaction and space for shared meals (Moroni, 2014). During the construction phase, a cost saving approach of membership sweat equity would be used and included various exterior, interior, and landscape tasks (Fromm, 1991).

A researcher described cohousing community members as having a "strong sense of belonging" and who were more likely to participate in shared activities (Ruiiu, 2015, p. 633). The process of shared activities including decision making, interpersonal relationships, and "participation in group projects" lead to the development of members' sense of community and place (Jarvis, 2001). Cohousing members had a strong sense of

civic duty, tended to engage in the larger neighborhood, and demonstrated attributes of community building and attachment toward their community (Ruiu, 2016). A strong sense of community did not eliminate the opportunity for conflict. Topics of conflict were often centered around interpersonal miscommunications, common space use versus private space use, personality differences, perceived expectations, and differences in personal values and beliefs (Fromm, 1991; Jarvis, 2001). Establishing a member-community balance was complex; however, established conflict resolution methods allowed for differences to be expressed and provided opportunity for community cohesion (Fromm, 1991).

Summary

Cooperative housing and cohousing approaches offered unique design and social collaboration and participations opportunities for the member residents (Leviten-Reid & Campbell, 2016). Housing cooperatives and cohousing were both designed as private self-regulated communities supported by voluntary member participation as outlined in the membership contract (Moroni, 2014). Decision making and self-governance nurtured relationships between members through expanded consensus building, listening, and interpretation skills (Ruiu, 2015; Schugurensky, Mündel, & Duguid, 2005). Several advantages included lower construction and operating costs; however, developers and leaders inexperienced in leveraging financial resources could undermine the community (Sazama, 2000).

Successful housing cooperatives and cohousing communities, dependent upon member participation and volunteering, both supported frequent membership interactions, socialization, and skill development that lead to personal benefits such as increased

leadership skills, self-confidence, and human and social capital (Green et al., 2013; Leviten-Reid & Campbell, 2016; Ruii, 2016; Schugurensky et al., 2005). Community benefits from members volunteering resulted in an increased concern for others and “a sense of cooperation and of community” (Schugurensky et al., 2005, p. 4). The gap in literature exploring community focused housing developments as an alternative solution for housing the homeless required further research.

Attachment

Place Attachment

Place attachment described as “. . . an interplay of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and the behaviors and actions in reference to a place” (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 5). A dynamic phenomenon composed of interrelated components, related to the bonding process to a space, in which social relationships and experiences influenced the strength of the connection (Low & Altman, 1992; Manzo, 2003).

Individual interactions over time provided the opportunity for their definitions and meanings of spaces, both positive and negative, to be constructed by people through their experiences, created sensitivity, and caring for both the setting and other individuals (Hashemnezhad, Heidari, & Hoseini, 2013; Manzo, 2003; Scannell & Gifford, 2009). The physical characteristics of the place and an individual’s meanings and feelings influenced the connectedness to the place, a process which lead to differentiating attachments between individuals and places (Hashemnezhad et al., 2013).

Researchers operationalized place attachment through residential places measured by the length of residency, personalization of the space, and sense of belonging (L. C. Manzo, 2003). Personal connections to the built environment influenced the strength of

values and goals demonstrated through increased social engagement and longer lengths of residency (Koons-Trentelman, 2009; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Scannell & Gifford, 2009). The development of physical and social attachments constructed through valued relationships, experiences, and social bonds lead to a sense of satisfaction, identification, and belonging (Hashemnezhad et al., 2013; Scannell & Gifford, 2009).

Belonging, an identity of place “I belong to it”, established an emotional dependency generated by mutual “interests, understanding, and experience” rooted in locational social interactions (Hashemnezhad et al., 2013, p. 9). Place attachment, or rootedness, described a sense of belonging and emotional connections that fostered familiarity. Attachments developed toward people, goals, personal identity, and investment of personal resources strengthened the connection to place (Ecker & Aubry, 2016; Hashemnezhad et al., 2013; Hummon, 1992; Scannell & Gifford, 2009; Weidemann & Anderson, 1985). Individuals who transitioned from homelessness to housing fostered a sense of dignity and pride; however, when there were also feelings of distrust or alienation when separated from other homeless individuals (Winton, 2016). Place attachment was an evolving processing between emotional attachments from the past and experiences created in a new environment (L. C. Manzo, 2003).

Place attachment could be experienced at the individual level and the group level (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). The individual level incorporated meaningful personal experiences and memories that were created and influenced by place characteristics (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). Group attachment, described as a shared community process, was created by the group members’ experiences (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). Individual and group attachments to community were strengthened through shared experiences,

interests, and concerns operationalized through participation (L. C. Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Individuals attached to a place were actively involved in their communities and participated in organizations with others who held similar attachments', in turn, increased community participation strengthened place attachment (Anton & Lawrence, 2014).

Community Attachment

Community attachment, similar to place attachment, was a bonding process through social engagement and organizational membership and participation (Dekker, 2007; Hummon, 1992). Community attachment, less focused on the relationship between the individual and the physical residential environment, was more focused on the individual's social relationship to the neighborhood (Hummon, 1992; Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014). Although housing quality and tenure were contributory attributes of community attachment, "social integration into the local area" had the strongest association to local community attachment (Hummon, 1992, p. 258).

The process of community attachment increased community participation, self-esteem, feelings of pride, formal and informal community governance, and quality of life (Dekker, 2007; Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014). Community members felt empowered to participate in effective community change when attributes of trust, social capital, and community values were fostered (Dekker, 2007; Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014). Increased social networks, feelings of empowerment, and self-efficacy mobilized community changes; although, neighborhood changes that challenged or conflicted with an individual's perceived place attachment could result in responses characteristic of NIMBY-ism (Dekker, 2007; L. C. Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014).

Summary

Place attachment and community attachment were the bonding process and relationship between the individual and the built environment and the larger neighborhood. Having an emotional relationship between place and community attachment increased levels of formal and informal decision making and participation (Dekker, 2007; L. C. Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Outcomes of attachment included increased individual self-esteem, self-efficacy, positive identity, social capital, and community participation. Understanding the process and outcomes of community attachment and participation could influence policy maker planning housing solution efforts (L. C. Manzo & Perkins, 2006). The recent increase in the number of individuals experiencing homelessness and the growing interest in the effect of place attachment on the individuals warranted further exploration (Hashemnezhad et al., 2013; Hummon, 1992; Low & Altman, 1992; Scannell & Gifford, 2009).

Occupy Madison Village

Introduction

Research literature that explored tiny houses for the formerly homeless, was limited in scope and scale, therefore, the researcher broadened the literature review to include print and online media, city documents, and other informative documents pertinent to the case study. The contextual background focused on key processes and events contributing to the village development. The study purpose explored the lived experience of the participants; therefore, the participants' perspectives and experiences remained the focus in findings of the study. The decision to include the historical

background of Occupy Madison Village in chapter two provided context of the bounded case without overwhelming the focus of the lived experience in chapter four.

Background

The city of Madison's newly elected mayor, Paul Soglin, published the 2012 annual report of the homeless in Dane County. It was reported 3,382 individuals, an increase from 2011, spent at least one night in one of the nine Dane county shelter programs in the preceding 12 months (Soglin, O'Keefe, Wallinger, & Rhodes, 2012). In 2012, 476 single men and 54 single women reported sleeping on the street or in a vehicle prior to seeking shelter (Soglin et al., 2012). Dane county provided 311 beds located in nine shelter programs that included vouchers for motel rooms and 65 seasonal beds (Soglin et al., 2012). The annual report listed reasons for homelessness as "poverty, addictions, mental illness, threat of violence and poor physical health often contribute to a person's inability to maintain housing"; however, lack of affordable housing was not listed as reason for homelessness (Soglin, 2014, p. 2).

In October 2011, as a response in solidarity to New York's 'Occupy Wall Street', a protest of inequality, homeless individuals and advocates occupied the city of Madison downtown as an encampment (Konkel, 2013). The encampment, identified as 'Occupy Madison', was relocated by city officials several times before it settled on 800 E. Washington Ave, Madison WI, a vacant site agreed upon between the city and Occupy Madison participants. The 30 participants who lived on the site made various attempts to build adequate tent, wooden, and hoop house structures that conformed to building codes. Participants at the 800 E. Washington Ave site strived to cooperate with fire, safety, and health city officials with the goal to continue using the site; however, after several failed

attempts to comply with city code requirements, the camp participants were evicted by city officials. The remaining homeless participants dispersed throughout the city reverting to sleeping on the street or park benches; a small number of participants collectively moved the tent encampment to a county park located outside city limits (Konkel, 2013). The location outside of the city was unsustainable due to transportation issues and the encampment moved to another site closer to city amenities (Konkel, 2013). The new site provided tent housing for 50 to 70 people weekly. However, the site could not accommodate the swell in the number of participants and officials evicted the encampment. Although the encampment continued the process of relocation and eviction from 2011 to 2014, a small number of original participants continued to work with community leaders to find a permanent housing solution (Konkel, 2013).

Dignity Village, Opportunity Village, and Quixote Village, tiny house villages for the homeless inspired Madison local community leaders (Prois, 2013). Tiny houses, typically less than 400 square feet, were mobile trailer framed houses. The tiny house size and construction did not meet standard municipal zoning codes and building regulations and created challenges for project developers considering the smaller affordable housing approach. Brenda Konkel, Occupy Madison Inc., referenced the tiny house villages, “It really gives people a sense of pride and dignity and a place to live” (Prois, 2013). During the summer of 2013, the first two houses were built on a mobile trailer with wheels; over 50 community members and volunteers participated in the funding and construction (Mazur, 2013). The house design incorporated the original Occupy Wall Street protest of inequality by referencing the bottom ‘99 percent’ as the total square footage of each tiny house. The tenants moved in on December 24, 2013; however, parking ordinances

required moving the portable tiny houses every 48 hours (Mazur, 2013). In an effort to acquire a site for the houses, community leaders created the nonprofit organization Occupy Madison, Inc.

A site located in the East Emerson Neighborhood at 2046-2050 E. Johnson Street, Madison Wisconsin, formerly Sanchez Motors, was situated on a 0.3 acres brownfield surrounded by various land uses and zoning. The site location included all public and urban services including Metro Transit (Cornwell, 2014). Occupy Madison, Inc., the nonprofit developer of the proposed project, submitted a letter of intent requesting rezoning of the site from Neighborhood Mixed-Use District to Planned Development District April 18, 2014 (Occupy Madison Inc., 2014b). Zoning surrounding the site was Neighborhood Mixed-Use District to the north; Traditional Residential - Consistent 4 District to the south; undeveloped land zoned Neighborhood Mixed-Use District to the west; and a mix of Planned Development and Traditional Residential - Varied 1 District to the east (Cornwell, 2014). The city of Madison Planning Division required the nonprofit to demonstrate the project met approval standards for changing the site zoning code to Planned Development district, a type of development used only in unique circumstances. The zoning code outlined the standard:

The applicant shall demonstrate that no other base zoning district can be used to achieve a substantially similar pattern of development. Planned developments shall not be allowed simply for the purpose of increasing overall density or allowing development that otherwise could not be approved unless the development also meets one or more of the objectives [in the statement of

purpose]. Conditions under which planned development may be appropriate include:

1. Site conditions such as steep topography or other unusual physical features; or
2. Redevelopment of an existing area or use of an infill site that could not be reasonably developed under base zoning district requirements. (Cornwell, 2014, p. 14)

Board members and community leaders worked with city officials and neighborhood residents during the planning and development phase of the proposed tiny house village.

Occupy Madison Inc. designed a comprehensive plan incorporating the city's housing policies and objectives with unique physical design characteristics, governance, general and resident membership, and steward participation. The nonprofit organization received increased demands and concerns from city officials and neighborhood residents. Occupy Madison Inc. organized neighborhood association meetings with city officials, the district alder, and neighborhood residents in an effort to address neighborhood NIMBY-ism. For transparency purposes, Occupy Madison Inc. recorded the meetings and posted online responses and solutions. Brenda Konkel, an advocate for the homeless, Executive Director for a nonprofit housing resource center and former alder in the Emerson East neighborhood, was familiar with working with the city planning commission and the zoning process.

When we became the developer of the project, I knew how to handle a neighborhood. I've been through the process, so I knew that I needed to talk to the alder. . . as a colleague. . . and have lots of neighborhood meetings. I also knew

that the first meeting is a disaster because everyone who is scared shows up. I tried to get Occupy [Madison Village] to answer as many questions as possible and put it on the web. A lot of the time developers don't share information. I knew where developers went wrong (Mingoya, 2015, p. 29).

Neighborhood resident concerns included the screening process of the tiny home residents, drug and alcohol use, and violence. During a neighborhood meeting, one city official expressed opposition to the development. Captain of the Madison Police Jay Lengfeld stated, "We are opposed to this development at this time" citing possible increased drug and alcohol related police calls (Schneider, 2014). Brenda Konkel, Occupy Madison Inc. developer conveyed surprise with the police objection, "I have much to say about this . . . later, but homeless equals crime is the implication and so far from the truth, we have had no police calls in the last 6 months to our location at Argosy Ct." (Konkel, 2014). Ms. Konkel explained it was hard to hear homeless stereotypes when Madison's high rents kept apartments unaffordable (Schneider, 2014). Ms. Konkel countered "The system is not working for them. They're trying to do something a little bit outside the system" (Schneider, 2014).

The city of Madison Planning Division required final site plans and completion of 52 conditions imposed by various city departments to allow the conversion and expansion approval of the 1947 service station building. The plans (see figures 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5), provided by architect Edward Green, accommodate the physical site conditions for a conditional use permit and rezoning from the planning department. The building renovations provided Occupy Madison Village common restrooms, showers, workshop, retail space, and temporary kitchen space. The exterior space accommodated nine

planned tiny houses with six foot privacy fencing developed over three phases (Cornwell, 2014).



Figure 1. Occupy Madison final design submittal. E. Green, 2014. Reprinted with permission.

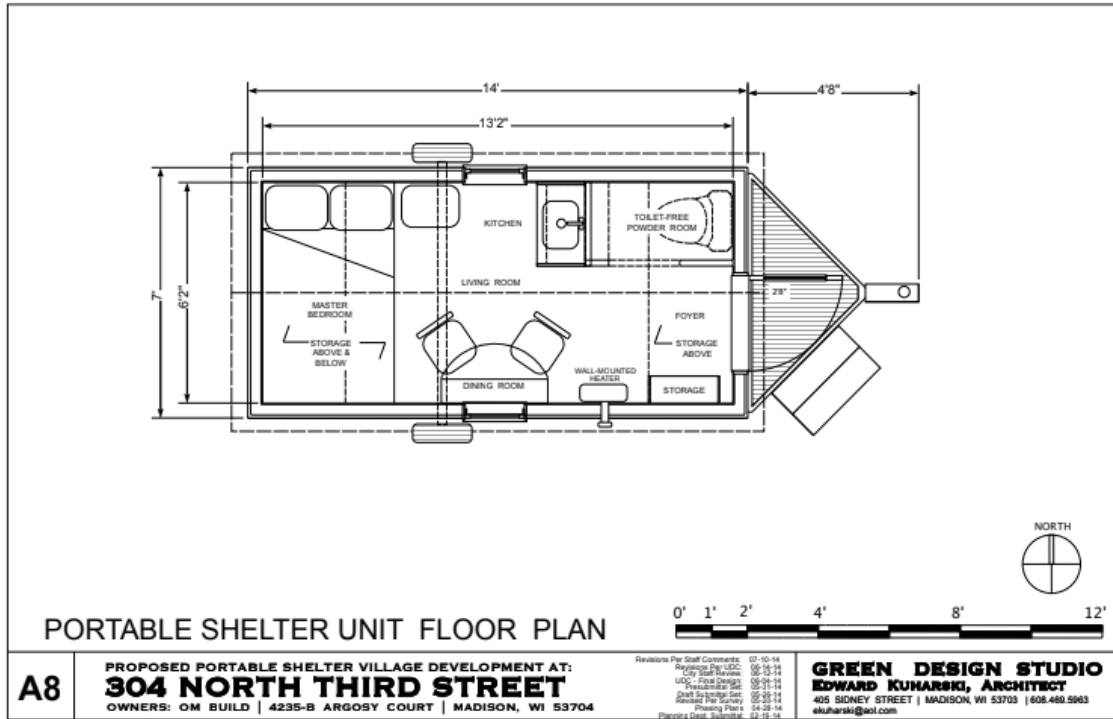


Figure 2. Occupy Madison portable shelter design. E. Green, 2014. Reprinted with permission.

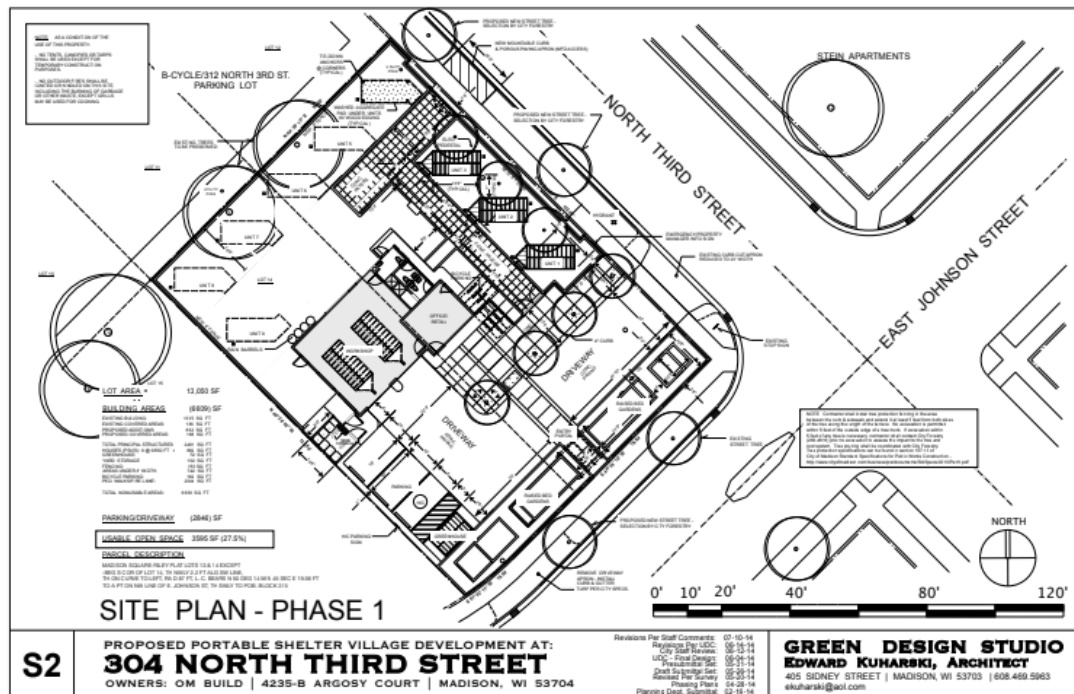


Figure 3. Occupy Madison phase one site plan. E. Green, 2014. Reprinted with permission.

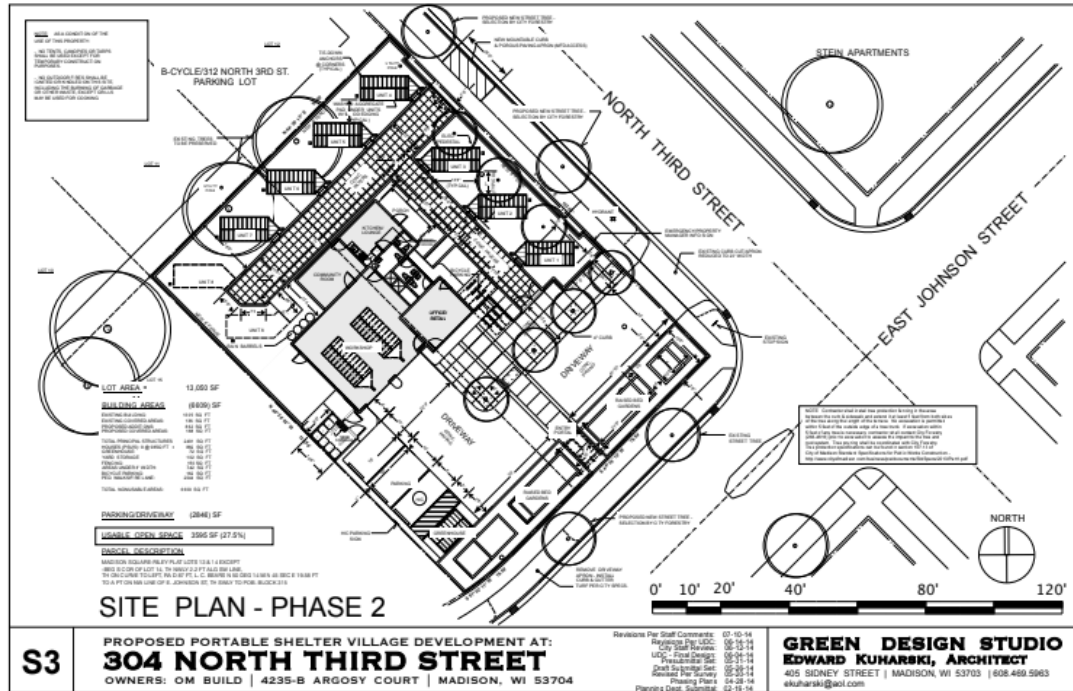


Figure 4. Occupy Madison phase two site plan. E. Green, 2014. Reprinted with permission.

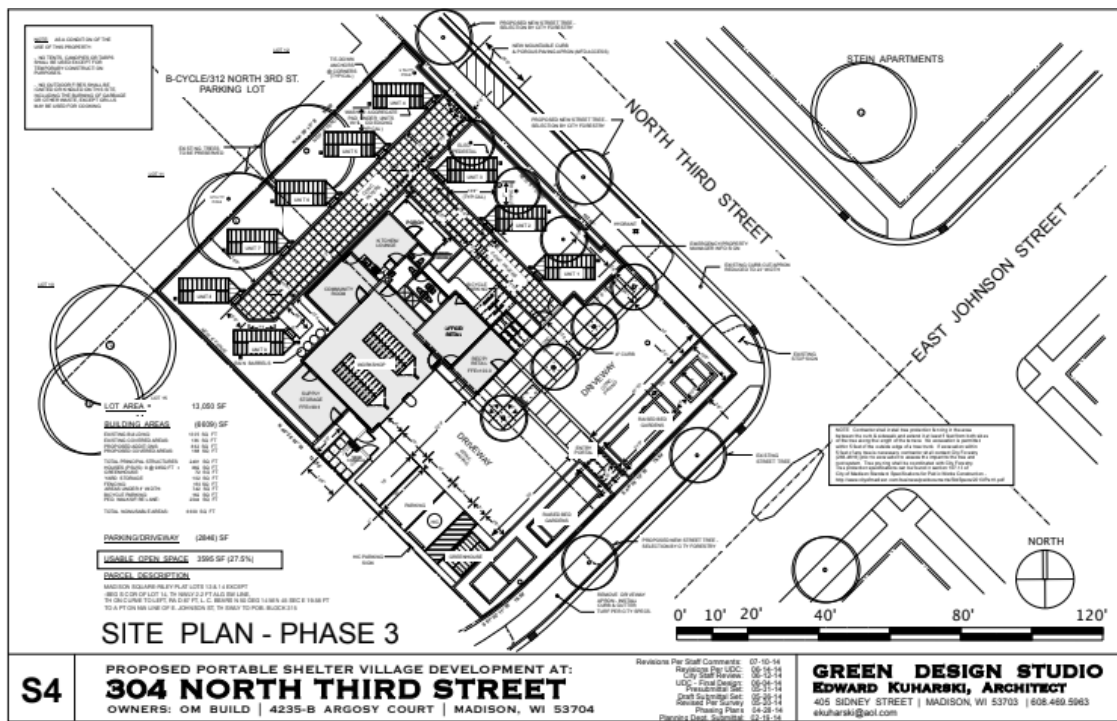


Figure 5. Occupy Madison phase three site plan. E. Green, 2014. Reprinted with permission.

Occupy Madison Inc. received approval from the city of Madison Planning Commission for the planned development at 2046-2050 E. Johnson in April 2014 after conducting six neighborhood meetings, and meeting the rezoning standards and development requirements (Cornwell, 2014). The new address for the approved village was 304 N. Third Street. In response to the neighborhood association meetings, the nonprofit incorporated additional changes: placing the houses in the back of the lot; adding planters to the front of the lot; removing composting toilets from the tiny houses; reducing hours of store operation during the weekends; and providing a 24 hour phone number for neighborhood concerns (Occupy Madison Inc., 2014a). In May 2014, the purchase of the Sanchez Motors site was finalized.

The site architect, Ed Kuharski (personal communication, February 8, 2019) explained the intentional house orientation on a 45 degree angle created opportunity for privacy and social interaction centered on a communal courtyard. The site design also provided a suitable environment for storm water mitigation, raised garden beds, and public, common, and private zones. Mr. Kuharski described the exterior color palette, one of the requirements from city officials, was intended to foster a community identity through colors associated with the city of Madison. For example, the exterior of one house was painted the University of Wisconsin, Madison college colors. The designers of the houses, Steven Burns and Bruce Wallbaum incorporated window shutters, flower boxes, and front door lighting as amenities characteristic of *home*.

Occupy Madison Inc., a nonprofit membership group with an elected board of directors was guided by their vision and mission statements:

Vision: A non-profit membership organization dedicated to creating a participatory, nonhierarchical, democratic community where people with or without safe, stable housing can live and/or work cooperatively to relieve poverty and promote dignity, safety, stewardship and sustainability.

Mission: To join together to create a more humane and sustainable world, one tiny idea at a time (Occupy Madison Inc., 2015d, p. 1).

The organization by-laws outlined requirements and rules for general membership, resident membership, board of directors, officers, committees, and membership meetings, board meetings, conflict of interest, fiscal policies, and amendments (Occupy Madison Inc., 2015a)

Occupy Madison Village, land, improvements, and tiny houses, were owned by Occupy Madison Inc. The village encouraged future members to participate in general membership meetings, attend orientations, and volunteer on committees. Individuals with a history of long term homelessness were encouraged to participate with the village as a steward of a tiny house. The organization encouraged future stewards of a tiny house to participate in the sweat equity requirements, the village governance, community expectations, and the vision of the village to give back to the neighborhood and larger community (Occupy Madison Inc., 2015c). Stewardship approval and continued resident membership required maintaining a lifestyle compatible with living in a tiny house, and staying in compliance with the Community Agreement (Occupy Madison Inc., 2015b). Occupy Madison Village valued community and supportive member participation, for example, the community agreement outlined good neighbor expectations, community

standards, village drugs, alcohol, weapon rules, and defined conduct policy (Occupy Madison Inc., 2015b, p. 2):

Occupy Madison strives to be an anti-oppressive community. We have no space for racism, ageism, sexism, and homophobia, discrimination on the basis of gender identity or physical disability, or hatred in general. We expect all participants to work to create this environment.

Member stewards following community rules were benefited with unlimited tenure at Occupy Madison Village.

Summary

The Occupy Madison tent encampment participants experienced a lengthy and often contentious opposition to locate a space that allowed the development of affordable shelter. The three year process of relocation and eviction created moments of iterative collaboration between individuals experiencing homelessness and community leaders. Community leaders and activists determined to find a housing solution found inspiration in three tiny house communities in the northwest. Although funding, construction, and site selection brought continued opposition from city officials and neighborhood residents, the nonprofit worked diligently towards achieving a mutually agreed upon outcome. Occupy Madison Inc., housing activists, community leaders, and homeless individuals participated in city meetings to change zoning and building code requirements. They also organized neighborhood meetings in a transparent collaborative effort to address neighborhood NIMBY-ism biases toward homeless individuals. The final outcome was an approved redesigned and constructed site that offered housing stewardship for individuals with a history of long term homelessness. The development

provided a comprehensive phased construction of nine tiny houses, a wood workshop, retail store, kitchenette, bathrooms, and meeting room. The nonprofit board governance implemented democratic decision making through general member and steward member participation while encouraging community volunteerism to achieve goals and give back to the neighborhood and larger community. The approach was a new phenomenon in design, density, and community building.

Conceptual Model

The conceptual model (see Figure 6) provided context for the exploration of the community focused housing approaches, place and community attachment relationships, and influenced outcomes from membership of a tiny house village. The relationship arrows from the independent variable, mitigating variables, and dependent variable were applied based upon the research question:

What is the lived experience of individuals with a history of homelessness living in a tiny house village?

The concepts of housing approaches and attachments were provided as exploratory themes of the study. The meanings of each concept were left undefined in the pre-analysis conceptual model to allow for participant constructed definitions, this approach provided a voice and conveyance of the participant lived experience through the open-ended interview questions and observations.

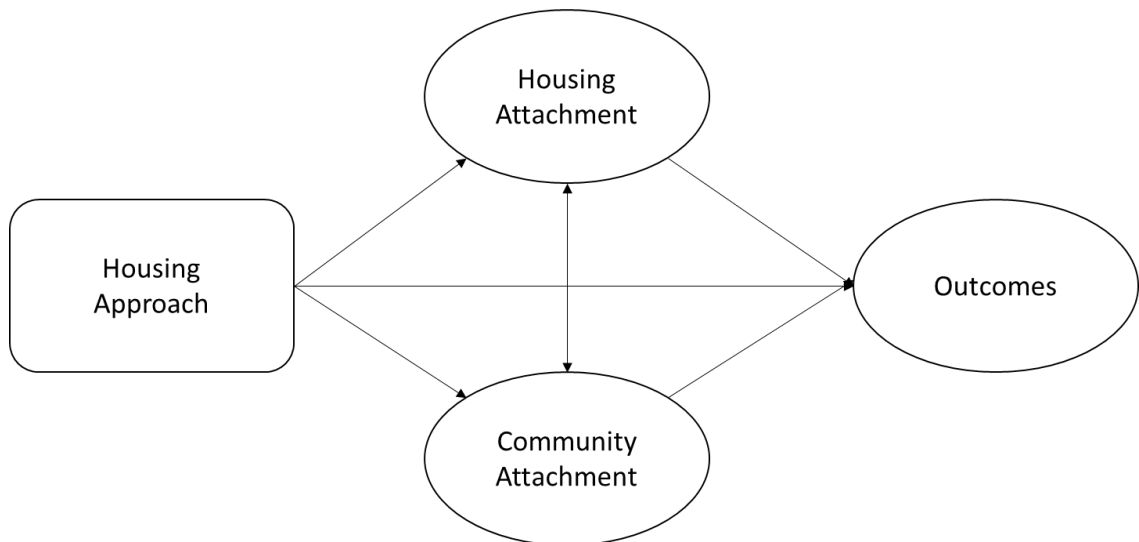


Figure 6. Conceptual model of housing approaches, housing and community attachment, and participant outcomes.

Chapter 3: Methods

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to describe the phenomenon of people with a history of homelessness living in Occupy Madison Village, a tiny house community. The case study, conducted February 2018 thru September 2018, explored multiple individuals with lived experiences bounded by the membership of a tiny house village for the formerly homeless. My exploratory study sought to describe how people with a history of homelessness experienced living in a community of tiny houses. This chapter includes an overview of methods, sample selection, data collection, process of data analysis, ethical considerations, issues of trustworthiness, and study limitations.

Overview of Research Design

The context-dependent site influenced the research design by often refocusing the research by expanding data collection, ethical considerations, and research-participant relationships (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The study required reflection upon my personal normative housing assumptions, experiences, and biases. Those experiences shaped the research design process, data collection methods, data analysis, ethical considerations, and verisimilitude reporting (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Lichtman, 2010). Throughout the data collection and analysis process I remained fully cognizant of my own housing philosophies while attempting to refrain from any verbal or physical gesture to deter or influence the participant. For example, I withheld visibly reacting when member participant two indicated he “preferred to be homeless”. This comment was both startling and contrary to my personal housing philosophy and motivated reflection of my own housing expectations.

I incorporated both inductive and deductive strategies to explore the details of the data to identify and describe emerging patterns and categories, while comparing the emerging themes to the conceptual framework (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The data were provided by the five member participants and their experience with the phenomenon of being housed following long term homelessness. The participants' shared their perspective and meaning of the phenomenon of the tiny house village lived experience. Participant transcripts, coded for patterns, categories, and meanings allowed the participants' experience to define concepts and relationships (Saldana, 2016). It was important to note that literature provided concepts, relationships, and context; however, the details, definitions, and categories from the participants *created meaning* within the study (Miller, Creswell, & Olander, 1998; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Research Sample

I had several unsuccessful attempts to contact the tiny house cooperative through email, phone messages, and on-line Facebook messages. After stopping by the tiny house village during the cooperative store hours, a cooperative member agreed to participate in the study. He also suggested I return several hours later for their weekly resident meeting. This provided an opportunity to recruit other participants; I returned prior to the start of the meeting and scheduled formal interviews for later in the week. Occupy Madison Village included five residential members, four male and one female. The study included all five members, who self-identified as formerly homeless, were all over 50 years old; all five of the participants referred to themselves as either original or founding members of village, or having past experiences with Occupy Madison tent encampment. The

participants' characteristics provided insight into the demographics, the reasons behind homelessness, and created a foundation of the phenomenon and implications for future studies.

At the conclusion of each member interview, I asked each participant if there were other individuals who participated in the development and ongoing management of the village whom they would recommend I contact. Four of the referred individuals were available for interviews, and professed familiarity with the village and its membership. The key informants were over fifty years old, two females and two males. Three informants were board members of the nonprofit Occupy Madison Inc., and the fourth key informant had participated with the design and development; all had direct experiences with the resident members beginning with the tent encampment or the onset of Occupy Madison Village's development.

Interview Data

The first three member participant interviews were scheduled back to back in 30-minute increments and conducted at the cooperative woodworking shop. The interviews took place around a wood shop table. Overall it was a quiet setting; however, occasionally the heat would turn on creating loud background noise. A large wall clock created an awareness of time. The fourth and fifth member interviews were scheduled on different dates, each for an hour to allow more time. The key informant interviews were scheduled similarly. The interviews took place at the on-site store, the front yard, the participant's place of employment, and over the phone. The researcher obtained signed permission from each participant (See Appendix A). Supplemental notes were taken during each interview including key words, phrases, and descriptions. The notes provided

clarification during the analysis. The interviews were digitally recorded, and coded in the respective order. The transcriptions and field notes comprised the data set.

The semi-structured and opened-ended interview questions focused on the lived experience of the tiny house village member residents. The interview questions underwent a peer-review and revision process to balance comfort in exploring others' lived experiences. The interview questions adapted to the style and condor of the interviewee and follow-up questions were asked to further exploration. Follow up and probing questions were constructed contemporaneously. This encouraged further details while I remained conscious of the construction and delivery of the question, and ethical considerations of probing too deeply. The researcher's introduction and member questions were consistent in each interview (see Appendix B). The key informant interviews included a different set of open-ended questions designed to explore their involvement and experience with the village membership; the questions were consistent with each interview as well (see Appendix C).

Observational data

Upon the conclusion of the final interview, Participant Three offered a tour of Occupy Madison Village that included access to the fenced-in residential portion of the development. The fenced exterior residential area included five 99 square foot houses centered on a common courtyard with a communal area for socializing and gardening. The 99 square foot interior, a representation of intentional design, was a decision of solidarity for the 2011 Occupy Wall Street movement and economic equality. The interior common amenities including a kitchen space consisting of a hot plate and microwave, shared bathrooms, woodwork shop, and store front of wood products and

jewelry. Participant Three granted me permission to take photos of the tiny houses, the location of future tiny houses, the storage area and greenhouse, as well as the interiors of three vacant tiny houses in the front parking lot. The vacant tiny houses were at various construction stages of completion.

Observations were recorded as physical features, construction materials, and context of proximity and integration between communal spaces and personalized spaces. For example, observational notes included descriptions of the tall wooden locked fencing, the proximity of the tiny houses centered on a communal courtyard, personalized exterior color painted on each house, and personal front porch items such as potted plants, bicycles, and recycling containers. On location photos of the exterior, workshop, store, and fenced courtyard provided additional data of member participants and key informants descriptions of the physical environment and reinforcement of personal observations (see Figures 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15).



Figure 7. Exterior storefront and raised garden bed area. February 21, 2018.



Figure 8. Exterior storefront and common area. February 21, 2018.



Figure 9. Tiny houses under construction. February 21, 2018.



Figure 10. Tiny houses in courtyard. February 21, 2018.



Figure 11. Tiny house design. February 21, 2018.



Figure 12. Tiny house interior. February 21, 2018.



Figure 13. Tiny house interior under construction. February 21, 2018.



Figure 14. Village woodshop. February 21, 2018.

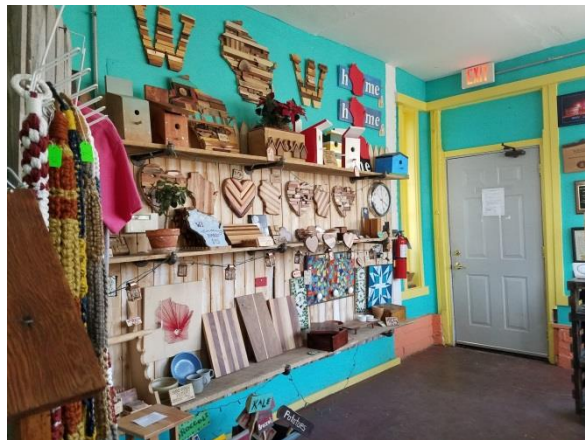


Figure 15. Store interior. February 21, 2018.

Data Analysis

Site field data were collected through written field notes and observations while positioning myself as a device for data collection within the study (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Field notes and post-interview notes captured reflections and observations. Topical responses were discussed with graduate student peer researchers to uncover emerging patterns. For example, a peer noted the participants self-identified as ‘members’ rather than residents, this awareness provided me with a further understanding of how the participants categorized themselves within the tiny house village.

Internal validity was strengthened through member checking during each participant interview. Member checks clarified the meanings behind initial comments, verified interpretation of the meanings, and triangulated the described experiences between multiple participants and the literature (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher listening to the interviews and repeating what was said to a dictation software program; the recordings were listened to a second time and edited for accuracy. Interview data included question and answer contextual descriptions of participant cadence, emotion, and wording for analysis.

The qualitative data analysis constant comparative coding process involved first level concept coding and second level axial coding (See Table D1). First level concept coding, labeled as ‘descriptor’, were assigned symbolic sentence meaning guided by the research objective (Saldana, 2016). A three column spreadsheet organized sentence unit of analysis for all transcripts; the first column was labeled line number, the second column was labeled transcript sentences, and the third column was labeled question number. A fourth color coded column was added as a descriptor for coding overall meaning; this column was labeled descriptor. Additional columns were designed for subtopics labeled categories. The coded descriptor data were sorted alphabetically to construct clusters of categories. Patterns were identified by sorting clustered categories into themes. Each interview transcript included an individual file with similarly designed spreadsheets and coding scheme.

Figure 16 was an individual sample of a transcript and coding. The example was selected included line 123 through 127, and 134 through 136. The question was coded

bright blue; the participant was coded light green. The question and response was from question six, follow up prompt 3 and 5 (Q6P3, Q6P5). The example was organized by the descriptor, Occupy Madison and cooperative living (OM/COOP, blue). Line item categories included Occupy Madison/cooperative living (OM/COOP); Occupy Madison/goals (OM/GOALS); Housing/homeless (Housing/HL); and Community/volunteer- participation (Community/VP) (See Figure 16).

123	How do you let people know this could be an opportunity	Q6P3	OM/COOP			
124	It's an opportunity based on a project for nine tiny houses right now there are a couple people for house 6 that leaves three more houses open and basically that depends on if you're interested	Q6P3	OM/COOP	OM/COOP	OM/GOALS	
125	a lot of them have come by that are homeless have volunteered but it takes so long to make those hours	Q6P3	OM/COOP	OM/COOP	Housing/HL	Community/VP
126	to get to that phase where we're going to add 5 6 7 and 8 tiny house where they can't wait a couple years they need housing tomorrow and right now	Q6P3	OM/COOP	OM/COOP	Housing/HL	Community/VP
127	so by finding it you know then finding out it's something where they just can't wait there's almost three dozen volunteers that have volunteer hours where they quit because it's just too long to wait for a tiny house	Q6P3	OM/COOP	OM/COOP	Housing/HL	Community/VP
134	We could put them in the village but we they have to be approved with an application	Q6P5	OM/COOP	OM/COOP		
135	So where if you have people that have met the volunteer parameters or the requirements what is the reason that we can't move the application	Q6P5	OM/COOP	OM/COOP	Housing/HL	Community/VP
136	For the 150 volunteers hours their approved on that from the board and from the village (interruption) to move into the tiny house		OM/COOP	OM/COOP	Housing/HL	Community/VP

Figure 16. Participant transcript coding example.

Analysis included category frequency tables generated for each member participant (See Appendix E1). The individual frequency tables were organized into clusters for further analysis of dominant themes (See Appendix E2). A comparison file included all interview coding for constant comparison, and second level axial coding. Axial coding deconstructed the concept codes into attributes to be reconstructed into the themes related to the research questions (Saldana, 2016). A similar spreadsheet design was made for the axial coding of concepts and used to analyze “properties and dimensions of a category” (Saldana, 2016, p. 244). The codes were sorted for cluster comparison to concepts within each transcript; frequency tables were made from the axial coding and each interview transcript file included completed thematic findings. The total

counts guided the researcher toward dominant themed description and deviant descriptions for review and consistency.

The completed individual frequency data were added to a file that allowed for constant comparison of thematic frequencies and the collective sum of thematic findings. This allowed for comparison coding and analysis of both salient themes and categories allowing outliers and deviant cases to emerge (See Figure 17). The columns identify the original transcript line number, color coded participants and investigator question, question number and probe number, descriptor, and response theme/categories one, two, and three.

41	So when you say that you have a roof over your head and that you feel safe and that you have a place to put your belongings so does this mean living here meets your needs?	Q3	LivingNeeds/MN			
45	you know where I walk from here to there to here to here I have everything	Q3	LivingNeeds/MN	LivingNeeds/MN		
47	but am I happy and content that I have what I have yes okay	Q3	LivingNeeds/MN	Housing/TC	Place/PRIDE	LivingNeeds/MN
	the neighbors the neighbors are our biggest fans and because we we participate within neighborhoods when we do you know because like					
90	we said we are a nonprofit organization volunteer based	Q7P3	Neighbors/Neighborhood	Community/VP	OM/COOP	
	and if we're able to be flexible enough to adjust to what the people in					
66	the neighborhood want	Q3P1	Neighbors/Neighborhood	Community/NN	OM/COOP	Place/GW
	like Brenda Konkel tells us you're the residence you know you make the village as you want so we tried you know a village for what you see you					
86	know	Q7P2	OM	Community/AOM	OM/COOP	
17	I see okay tell me about what it's been like to live at occupy Madison	Q4	OM			
	its been an experience you know mostly you know coming from homelessness because after I left you know after I when that happened you know then in 2000 2013 this was 2013 That I became homeless right					
18	yeah 2013	Q4	OM	OM/EXP	Personal/PH	Housing/HL

Figure 17. Comparison transcript coding example.

Ethical Considerations

The experiences and exploitations of this population required ethical awareness and consideration of respect for persons, justice, and beneficence, assessment of risk and benefits included in informed consent, and selection of volunteer participants (Barnbaum & Byron, 2001). This study began as an assignment for a qualitative research methods course, and was approved by the University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB, an ethical review board, ensured researchers conformed to ethical research methods. I continued the study as my thesis project and submitted an application

for IRB review for the remaining two cooperative members' participation. The University of Minnesota IRB reviewed the researcher's study application with final determination the study met the criteria for exemption. Each participant was presented with a consent form that included the study summary and purpose, was provided a copy of the form, and was informed he or she could stop the interview at any time. Participant comprehension was confirmed by asking each participant to sign a copy of the consent form without undue pressure or influence, and voluntariness was provided by scheduling the interview according to the participant's convenience.

Issues of Trustworthiness

The methodology followed credible research practices exploring a complex problem; a variety of approaches incorporated key characteristics of qualitative research and standard methods of research (Cloke, Cooke, Cursons, Milbourne, & Widdowfield, 2000; Creswell & Poth, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2018). Data collection were strengthened by combining methods such as one-on-one interviews, observations, member checking, triangulation, and peer observations; analysis was strengthened through reflection of biases, ethical awareness, and iterative analysis of data. I committed to accurate and disseminate reporting through qualitative rigor, respectful participant engagement and consent, and self-reflection and awareness of participant impact. The study design demonstrated rigor through inductive and deductive constant comparative data analysis and developed concepts and categories through first level and second level coding. By providing a detailed rich audit trail of philosophical assumptions, description of methods, triangulation of data analysis, and verisimilitude report writing, the value of

the research was strengthened (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Lichtman, 2010; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Limitations

The study provided insightful and foundational definitions and meanings of concepts describing life in a tiny-house community developed to stabilize housing for individuals with experiences of homelessness. The study results generated through interviews with a small number of individuals cannot be generalized to all tiny house villages as the sample is small and the phenomenon and analysis were location specific. The demographics of the participants, over 50 years old, white, with some college education, cannot be generalized to all long term homeless individuals. The University of Minnesota IRB constraints limited the researcher's interaction with each participant to one 60 minute interview, and did not allow for follow up interviews.

Summary

Qualitative data collection strategies and research design methodology provided structure for the exploration and reconstruction of the lived experience through the participants' voice. Interview instruments underwent a rigorous review process, interviews included in-the-moment member checking, and observations and field notes were validated through site photographs. Interactive inductive and deductive data analysis included a multi-level constant comparison coding process that included color coding of thematic concepts and categories. The conceptual model was formulated through an iterative review process of data analysis and literature review of patterns and categorical findings.

The intent of this study was to offer a contextual understanding between individuals with a history of homelessness and a unique housing experience. Furthering the understanding of the experiences and meanings as described by resident member participants, housing policy makers, community leaders, and housing developers may consider alternative housing solutions that meet the needs of their neighborhoods and community.

Chapter 4: Findings

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to describe the phenomenon of people with a history of homelessness living in Occupy Madison village, a tiny house village located in Madison, Wisconsin. A contextual understanding of the lived experience of an often voiceless population may help community developers and organizers incorporate housing best practices and suggestions from residents' point of view. This chapter includes the descriptive experiences of two sets of the individuals, residents of Occupy Madison Village and the key informants who advocated for the tiny houses for the homeless. Each cohort provided descriptions of the participants' personal portrayal captured through direct quotations. This chapter presents findings from the analysis of the texts from interviews with five participants living at Occupy Madison village and four key informants with direct experiences developing the village.

Findings emerged from participant narratives of their perceptions of life in a tiny house village. Field notes and transcripts of the participants' experience, descriptions, and meanings were compared. To avoid predetermined categories, coding was conducted prior to reviewing the research literature. Categorical and thematic relationships between participants were compared to define collective themes. The participants' descriptions prioritized into meaningful themes and categories guided the exploration of research literature (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). The research literature aided in organizing categories, categories were collapsed and defined as themes with cohesive conceptual interpretation (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012).

Frequency tables were created to quantify patterns of salient themes and categories described by the five member participants. Code abbreviations were defined in a separate table (See Appendix D1). For example, theme descriptions of ‘community’ were coded 212 times. The category ‘interaction and involvement’ (Com/II) was coded 52 times, had a relative frequency 0.46, had a cumulative frequency of 212, and was 24.53% of the total community descriptions (See Table 1). This example informed the researcher when participants were describing experiences of community, interaction and involvement were categories described most often. The frequency tables informed the researcher of collective experiences of all the participants and highlighted any inconsistencies or deviant cases. The collective comparison of all of participants’ frequency tables contributed to findings support. The tables were included in this chapter to assist the reader in understanding the development of salient themes described by the participants and explored by the researcher.

Table 1
Frequencies of Community Themed Categories, (n = 212)

Theme/Category	<i>f</i>	Rel <i>f</i>	<i>cf</i>	Percentile
Com/II	52	0.46	212	24.53%
Com/VP	39	0.35	160	18.40%
Com/BLNG	37	0.33	121	17.45%
Com/AOM	30	0.27	84	14.15%
Com/NN	23	0.21	54	10.85%
Com/DS	14	0.13	31	6.60%
Com/FS	10	0.09	17	4.72%
Com/SC	4	0.04	7	1.89%
Com/FAM	3	0.03	3	1.42%

Table 2

Frequencies of Occupy Madison Village Themed Categories, (n = 188)

Theme/Category	<i>f</i>	Rel <i>f</i>	<i>cf</i>	Percentile
OM/COOP	90	18.00	188	47.87%
OM/CON	36	7.20	98	19.15%
OM/GOALS	36	7.20	62	19.15%
OM/EXP	26	5.20	26	13.83%

Table 3

Frequencies of Place Themed Categories, (n = 169)

Theme/Category	<i>f</i>	Rel <i>f</i>	<i>cf</i>	Percentile
Place/GW	38	7.60	169	22.49%
Place/OM	34	6.80	131	20.12%
Place/PRIDE	29	5.80	97	17.16%
Place/TENURE	22	4.40	68	13.02%
Place/SIZE	19	3.80	46	11.24%
Place/SAFE	8	1.60	27	4.73%
Place/BATH	4	0.80	19	2.37%
Place/HEALTH	4	0.80	15	2.37%
Place/HOME	4	0.80	11	2.37%
Place/KC	4	0.80	7	2.37%
Place/QUIET	2	0.40	3	1.18%
Place/L	1	0.20	1	0.59%

Table 4

Frequencies of Housing Themed Categories, (n = 138)

Theme/Category	<i>f</i>	Rel <i>f</i>	<i>cf</i>	Percentile
Housing/HL	78	0.57	138	56.52%
Housing/TC	20	0.14	60	14.49%
Housing/RR	19	0.14	40	13.77%
Housing/PLAN	9	0.07	21	6.52%
Housing/GOAL	7	0.05	12	5.07%
Housing/LOC	5	0.04	5	3.62%

Table 5
Frequencies of Personal Themed Categories, (n = 117)

Theme/Category	<i>f</i>	Rel <i>f</i>	<i>cf</i>	Percentile
Personal/PH	81	16.20	117	69.23%
Personal/HEALTH	18	3.60	36	15.38%
Personal/PLAN	12	2.40	18	10.26%
Personal/FAM	4	0.80	6	3.42%
Personal/LOC	2	0.40	2	1.71%

Organized by a linear timeline of the participants' experiences from ideation to evaluation, the findings described experiences of 1. Living as a homeless individual; 2. Living in a tent encampment; 3. Occupy Madison's housing and community development and; 4. descriptions of place and community attachment that emerged from residing in Occupy Madison Village. In other words, the findings were organized to tell the story of the case of Occupy Madison Village and the individuals involved; participant findings conclude with key informant findings. Direct quotations support the rich description of individual and woven experiences of homelessness, housing, and attachment. The participants' descriptive patterns of housing approaches incorporated self-governance, participation, and communal design appeared to influence place and community attachment. Attachments yielded outcomes such as longer residency, personalization of space, sense of belonging, and social relationships with the village community and neighborhood. My original expectations were that attachments would influence mobility and the pursuit of normative housing trajectories, such as, aspirations to rent an apartment or purchase a house. However, the expectation did not take into account the strong influence of participation, and community and neighborhood engagement which

influenced resident satisfaction and the propensity to not move (Morris, Crull, & Winter, 1976).

Homelessness

Participants, referenced as Participant One or P1 respectively, described a variety of experiences living as a homeless individual, ranging from episodic to chronic. HUD Exchange defined episodic as “Individuals in this group tend to have fairly disadvantaged lives, which leaves them at constant risk of becoming homeless” (“Housing search assistance toolkit,” 2019). Chronic homeless was described as “individuals have often spent a great deal of their life on the streets and have many issues that impede their ability to reconnect to their communities, including substance abuse and serious mental health problems” (“Housing search assistance toolkit,” 2019).

All of the resident participants described personal barriers leading to multiple episodes of homeless or long-term street life. The stories provided a context for how the participants describe their experience living in Occupy Madison. For example, the majority of participants described specific events triggering their homeless episodes:

I was living on the north side of Madison and things were getting really heated between all the roommates. One of the roommates pulled restraining orders against a few because he was the owner of the house. (P4)

Another resident detailed the loss of employment due to an injury:

I was injured; I had lost a good job. I was discriminated against because I was homeless and couldn't work because of my injuries. No one would hire me because I wasn't a hundred percent. (P2)

Another current resident explained that he was homeless because he chose to be homeless and to remain in Madison without secured housing.

I was only passing through town I was walking from Green Bay and I was going to go to New Orleans and then out west from there to Oregon to a monastery. It was Christmas weekend and it had snowed and I couldn't see the path and I slipped around the Horicon Marsh, you know? So I made my way to Madison and then once I got here, which was just another day, I thought okay I'll stay here for two weeks or so until my ankle heals up. Then I'll continue my journey, but I really liked it here. [Question: Where did you stay?] Just up on 'The Square', okay, so technically I was homeless but I kind of chose it. (P2)

Other residents reported chronic barriers such as addiction and mental illness leading to homelessness. One participant observed the relationship between alcohol and homelessness, “. . . you know a lot of homeless people drink alcohol because they're depressed, or they don't care, or it gets to them because they need it” (P3). Another participant reflected upon mental illness as a personal barrier to permanent housing, “I was in a very dark spot. I was living on the street because of my ‘mental-ness’ and my screw-ups” (P1).

Participants navigated life on the street by living in alternative forms of shelter. Two of the participants described daily life living in a van. Participant Five described the decision to live in a van and outlined the challenges of maintaining a job:

I couldn't afford [rent], I had a car and like a little Kia that got excellent gas mileage. But it broke down and it wasn't like it would have been cheaper for me to buy a new vehicle than to get this a new engine put in. So basically that's what

I would have to do. So I was living in Watertown at the time so I had to make a decision and I knew I couldn't afford both a new vehicle and a house or rent so I got a van so it could be both. (P5)

It's tough, well, because I didn't want anyone to know that I was living out of my van so just like the way it works in the house get dressed in the morning and go do laundry. I know at least two other people that stayed up at the Dutch Mill's park and ride that lived in their cars. One day I saw one of the guys, I'm not a real talker believe it or not, so I like pretty much stayed to myself and I like being by myself; but one day I was like getting having my coffee getting ready to drive downtown and I look over and this guy's putting on a tie, you know? I knew he slept there at night, yeah; okay I'm not the only one. (P5)

I did not do the van life very well at all. I've learned a lot from other people who live in their vehicles around here. Heat and air are the huge issues. They're the huge differences in the winter time. I would warm up my van and I won't go into how I insulated and everything. I used clothes essentially, I'd store my clothes and also used as insulation against my windows. Every four hours I had to wake up and turn the van on for like half an hour, turn the heat full blast. In the summertime the mall was my big hangout because it's air-conditioned and heated and the libraries. And when they were closed then I would just I would do the same thing with the air, just turn it on and then like if it got really cold I was waking up every two hours. (P5)

Participant Four found relief from the heat by sleeping on another residents couch, “I would stay on one of the residents couch . . . you know, sometimes when you get too hot or something in the van.”

Tent Encampment

Residents reported examples of active involvement in the Occupy Madison protest movement, a protest of solidarity for the 2011 Occupy Wall Street protest of economic inequality. The public protests highlighted the plight of homeless individuals in Madison and increased city attention for the homeless community. Strong relationships between homeless individuals and leader advocates resulted in a two year process of establishing and then relocating tent encampments. The tent encampments were located throughout the city of Madison and Dane County. The majority of the participants reported a history of living in the tent encampments during the years preceding the development of Occupy Madison tiny houses. The majority of participants described the merging of the protests and the tent encampments:

I started out on East Washington. A lot of people start camping out and then turned into an encampment with a bunch of homeless people and then a lot of advocates came by and were protesting about equal rights, housing rights for homeless people. (P3)

We started Tent City and I’m like oh wow I can have some sleeping on the street and I can sleep in a tent. From my perspective that's when I'm like you know what I’m gonna get a tent you don't want to hear the stories about my tents because I think I went through about eight of them. (P1)

Two other residents provided detailed accounts of their experience joining the hoop house tent encampment on East Washington Avenue and county park tent encampment in Token Creek:

I was sitting outside waiting for the day shelter outside, waiting. So I was sitting outside and when Bruce passes by, and remember they were on East Washington in that tent city? I became, so yeah, so then I am I used to stay in a hoop house.

(P4)

I became homeless in 2012 after you know me staying out at 800 East Wash was when we had encampments, and then everything got dismantled, and then we were moving around from campgrounds to campgrounds to campgrounds. I had a van so I became homeless again. (P4)

When I joined them we were on token Creek. It was just me and my truck and 20 some homeless people. We had a van service; we got food with my truck. We did illegal camping. People have money for errands; my truck was used food pantries.

(P3)

We were out at Token Creek. We had gone through illegal encampments and had raids. We were at a location where the Parks Department said that we could use it for the winter because it had electricity, and that we could use electricity for the heaters, and we could use fire pits for food. (P3)

Key informants

Tent encampment leader advocates described harsh conditions and the political maneuvering required for maintaining the encampments against forced disbandment.

They had tents. There was a terrible winter at one encampment where snow, freezing, and thawing, we had to chip some of the tents out of the ice after you know it was time to move. But that was a county park where they were camped, the county did keep the electricity on so they were able to keep, you know, portable heater going. But that, but that was a horrendous winter and I think they, maybe if I were in one of their places I might have selected one of the homeless shelters or both of them. You have a warm place to stay, but it's not perfect, and if it's above a certain temperature you don't get to stay there. (KI1)

Seasonal weather and relocation strategies did not often result in a disbandment of the tent encampment even when the homeless were moved further from supportive services and public transportation (Loftus-Farrn, 2011). Tensions between the encampment residents and city officials grew during the two year process removal and relocations. Benda Konkel, Occupy Madison Village developer, described the process of sweeping the residents from tent encampments which meant removing tents and other possessions.

Residents and advocates were tasked with finding sites to set up camp. We were at the campgrounds, when the campgrounds closed. We went back to the original encampment on East Washington. We were there for a little while and they kicked us out, so we went and camped on the front lawn of the Human Services Building. I hoped it kinda helped the folks who we would meet every day, and come up

with a plan. From the front lawn on the services building that's when they kicked up everything that we had there and dumped it off the Token Creek, which is like seven miles out of town. And they said you have two choices, either you camp here until spring and we'll send a van out and bring you back to town every day, or you have to disband and be done. So we camped out there until they told us we had to move there, and then we went to Mr. Bangs land and that's when they started to fine him \$400 a day. And we were just, we just kept looking for solutions, and looking for solutions, and looking for solutions, and looking for solutions and finally, you know, we did end up sort of disbanding. But then we still knew all these people who were still homeless, and so then our next solution we thought of was the tiny houses.

Occupy Madison encampments served upwards of 70 individuals, and were relocated 27 times to ten different sites located in the City of Madison and Dane County area from October 2011 to December 2013 (Konkel, 2013).

Community Focused Housing Approaches

Introduction

The advocates for the Occupy Madison Village creatively combined best practices from multiple approaches of housing and community development. The objective was to pull together elements of governance, community focused decision making, and communal living elements. The vision statement provided by one of the advocates outlined the mission and goals of Occupy Madison Village “A non-profit membership organization dedicated to creating a participatory non-hierarchical democratic community, where people with or without safe, stable housing can live and/or work

cooperatively, to relieve poverty, and promote dignity, safety, stewardship, and sustainability” (Occupy Madison Inc., 2015d). As a community focused on cooperative living, the affordable tiny house design developed a sense of belonging and community commitment among the residents.

Governance

Similar to cooperative housing, Occupy Madison was a nonprofit with an elected board consisting of community leaders and residents, offered general membership, and encouraged participatory democratic decision making. Participant One resident described the initial decision to pursue the tiny house development, “We had the board of directors that were like this is a good thing this could work.” All of the residents described participatory self-governance as a key attribute of cooperative living. Participant Five described the process of membership voting and decision making:

Any decision that I'm voting on I think like, I think like, what would be the best for everyone you know. . . we came up with like the systems of how we get the bathroom clean, you know, and try to make everything fair. (P5)

Participant Two linked the housing approach and the decision making process, “It's been a really a kind of typical co-op type situation where we all work together to make decisions”.

The majority of the residents also reported the rules and regulations create internal conflict between the board members and the residents, and residents to resident conflict.

It's not all roses of course, you know, clashes and stuff. Every village, because the people give different points of views have different ways of doing things (P4).

My biggest thing is the dictation of sometimes the board of directors is telling us you can do this, you can't do that, you got to do that, you must do that, it's bullshit (P1).

Key informant

Key informants described the relationship between governance and member participation and their intended goals when developing the village:

I mean, like try to give them more power instead of feeling so much like they don't have power. This is where you live, you guys making up [the decisions]; the goal was to have them making all the decisions and running it themselves, and like the board just being this technical thing we have to do for nonprofit status. (KI3)

According to one of our documents it is mandatory to participate in resident meetings but we haven't enforced it, but what kind of consequences do you give for someone deciding they're really pissed off and they're not going to attend? (KI1)

We can spend a lot of time focusing in some stupid little detail that one person, one member of the group, has a problem with and then everybody's got to talk about it for two hours and then people get mad and don't want to participate. (KI3)

Member participation

The participants' frustration with governance often conflicted with their description of value and pride connected to the organization. The majority of residents achieved personal accomplishments, friendships, and community support as member participants. Participant Four enthusiastically described the organization, "It's a great organization, everybody, I mean everything is volunteer based so you know we have great members that do great helping!" Another resident connected the relationship between participating on wood projects for the store and friendships, "I can come in and do stuff like this and just play around and sit and talk with [my friend] and things and have friendships that's what make this place work". (P1)

Occupy Madison Village provided opportunities for residential participation including gardening, jewelry making, and creating woodworking items for their garden sale and store. All of the participants described areas of participation, Participant One described experiences of working in the wood shop, "I build things I do stuff like this you know, it's not really the most perfect thing, but we build, we try, and people still buy it you know?" (P1)

I love what we do here, I love, you know, being involved in the gardens, you know? Being involved with making all the jewelry that we sell here, work in the shop, doing all the, you know, woodwork that were doing and sell our things. (P5)

There's a lot of people out there, like a lot of homeless, like I said, if they want to belong, you know, and participate in something like this, it really builds your self-confidence and self-esteem. (P4)

Design

The intentional community design with a central court-yard, a community workshop, a greenhouse, and retail space, provided frequent member interaction and fostered integration. Proximity and continual interaction created opportunity for friendship and bonding through participation, commitment, and purposeful activity for the members.

We used to have pot-luck's every weekend, but now we just have one a week, one once a month because it's too much. It became too much, people start feeling obligated, you know, to come. So just once a month we will actually enjoy each other. (P4)

The majority of participants described the space and their involvement with the renovations. Participant Five described the early condition of the property when it was first purchased:

We bought this, so I've been here since the summer of 2014, right yeah, summer of 2014. I was volunteering out here building these garden beds and then trying to stay away from the inside. This place was a dump; I was trying to stay away from the inside of this place. There was a big hole in the roof right there and every time it rained water would pour down, so that's why I say I tried to stay away from the inside. There was mold and all kinds of stuff and everyone that came in and had chemical suits on. It was fun, so yeah, I stayed out there and mostly built what you see around the garden beds the little road for the fire department in the back along the Third Street. (P5)

We just redesigned the building basically. They had the old school, foot square windows like 3 4 5 across, we tore them out. These are all sliding glass doors, and there are four of them there in the store. Those are glass storm doors and, basically, those were all freebies; same with a sliding glass doors those are freebies. But this building was in really bad shape, and still is in some areas. You can see where the heater is on that roof, see all that water damage brown and yellow gray areas; it's all water damage from the roof. (P3)

Participant Three explained living cooperatively, “Basically when we’re in a co-op living place, we share like tiny houses or areas or sections, people who do like chores and take turns and trying to provide for the place”.

The indoor community space included two full bathrooms and a kitchenette with a hot plate and microwave for cooking. The majority of the participants described challenges they faced with indoor community features and a desire more privacy and control:

I don't want a place where I have to walk to the bathroom or have to share a kitchen. I don't want that I have to walk out in the middle of the winter to come and go to the bathroom. (P1)

We don't have laundry facilities, you know, that would be nice having laundry. And it would be nice to have a kitchen that we can cook, you know, whole kitchen. That's why we were trying to raise money so we can finally build it, you know? (P4)

Key Informant

Key Informant Three described the goals for the communal areas:

We have five people living there; our goal is to get nine living there. We're trying to raise a hundred thousand dollars right now to put in the kitchen and community room. The city requires an additional bathroom, but what we really need is an additional shower and some laundry, yeah, like you know? I mean, so kitchen, shower, laundry, it's kind of our next piece of the building that we really want.

(KI3)

Place Attachment

Introduction

The theme of place attachment emerged from personalization of the space, and sense of belonging, length of residency, and community participation. Place attachment categories intertwined with one another creating a comprehensive supportive system described through participants' relationship with the built environment.

Design

Prior experiences with homelessness included items stolen and the need for safety and storage. Participant One described the safety feature, "The biggest thing is I have a roof over my head, my belongings are not going to be stolen or things" (P1). Participant Two described his housing needs as they related to security:

Well, it gives me, I mean for the basics, it does give me shelter from the elements and it gives me a sense of security, of course. You can go in at night and relax. I can lock the door and it gets me a place to keep my things. (P2)

It's a horrible feeling being homeless, you know? When I was homeless, it's a horrible feeling, into being able to have Occupy Madison, you know, and having this tiny home. I love it here because it's a place of security, you know, we feel safe because it's home. (P4).

The majority of the participants described their mixed satisfaction with the tiny house size and design. The storage and security of personal belongings was intertwined with a space that allowed for some flexibility of design. Participant Three described the interior design of the tiny houses:

It's small, it's not enough room, but you can design it inside how you want into the tiny house. You can have it into a loft, to an art room, a laptop area, pull-down bed, a double bed; you can design it how you want. To me, as long as I have a place to sleep and watch a little TV and an area to do different things you know it works but I mean it is small, you know? I got a couch in there, a TV, and the bed; basically I got a couple end tables and a refrigerator, I got an extra dresser but it's small. (P3)

It's a perfect size because I don't need anything more. I know I'm single and I have my space for what I like to do, arts, you know, and I love it. (P4)

Length of residency

The residents detailed the development of stability described primarily through invested effort and time interacting with the village. For example, participating in the creation of the tiny house village and longevity of tenure provided the foundation of stability. Participant One described the background of how Occupy Madison Village began; his description included a reference to his tenure and perseverance, “If you were

here five years ago at this property and could see what we've done it's amazing I mean we have nothing but pride for what we've done."

Other participants described the length of residency as a sense of stability created by the stable environment:

It's, you know, stability. I'm working also; I just started two weeks ago, working as a waitress. So we try to establish some stability monetarily, you know, baby steps. . . I'm living day by day. I'm trying to do as much as I can every day. I know it's crazy, nothing is going to fall from the sky for me, I have to do it myself. I think things take time if you want to do it, so I'm taking my time. I don't know, I would not ever see it myself, but only if I win the lottery or something could I buy myself a house. But you know renting or traveling, I don't know. Housing for the future? As long as you know I get my job, I keep the job and to stay focused, I would love to eventually move. (P4)

Participant Three described the time and effort it took to become stable after experiencing homelessness:

I got a little money now, I need a place, and I need a new vehicle. It's about six to eight hundred bucks a month for rent and a vehicle, a beater, or used one, or a decent new one; it cost money with credit. A lot of homeless people don't have that, so to get back on your feet it takes a couple years once you have a job, and a lot of them go back to alcohol and drugs. . . My long-term housing goal is probably to stay with Occupy and support them, help them in what ways I can be there for them, basically be a team player. (P3)

Belonging

Belonging, a specific goal within the cooperative and co-housing models and place attachment attribute, was described by all of the participants as interaction with the built environment and interpersonal relationships with other participants:

I would I think in a lot of homeless people they feel the need of feeling to belong somewhere, you know? This makes that you belong, you know, that you belong somewhere. You have a place to go, I mean, it's your home, you know? It's like a family, you know, it's our little family here, because you know your neighbors, you know what's going on every day. You see each other every day. (P4)

My friend and I sit here for hours working. We built things, you know, it's not really the most perfect thing but we build, we try, and I'm not him, you should see his stuff, it's amazing. We are best friends . . . friendships, that's what makes this place work. (P1)

There were conflicting responses from participants. The expectation was contrary to the actual responses from the participants regarding 'belonging'. I asked the question, "Do you feel accepted here?" Participant Two replied, "No, but that's okay because we all here, we all agree we can all be ourselves here". Participant Three replied to the probing question, "Do you feel like you belong?"

A lot of times with the residents, you know, there's problems with residents between I do this I do that . . . the real issue is teamwork and between people's lives or just being an asshole to someone, there's issues here and it's hard to get along with other people.

Participant Three's answer appeared to deviate from the question; however, provided insight into the challenges confronting members' sense of belonging. The response deviated from his earlier response "I don't know what it would take to move on, knowing you'll leave something behind".

Community Attachment

Introduction

The interviews provided a deeper understanding of what brought each of the participants to Occupy Madison Village, and what has kept them engaged as members. Through-out various interviews, the participants expressed increased purpose, pride and self-esteem; empowerment; and community and neighborhood participation and bonding.

Purpose and pride

All of the participants expressed a sense of purpose and pride as an outcome of participating in the community and neighborhood. Participant Three described his commitment to Occupy Madison over the years, "I've done so many hours volunteering . . . I've been so involved for almost 7 years". An example of the positive influence upon the membership purpose was explained by Participant Two, "I do like this project. I feel it's really rewarding. I don't think we will ever totally complete this project, maybe I'm not good at giving up". All of the participants' expressed enthusiasm; observed as prideful accomplishment of Occupy Madison village:

We continue to keep doing our self-esteem I guess, or whatever you want to call it, we continue to keep striving to make this property the best it can be. (P1)

I think this is for me, I love this 10 times more because it's the interaction you have with people, you know? I don't know, in an apartment building, as soon as they close their door they don't have no contact with another human being until the next day. You live by yourself here, but you have contact 24/7, you understand? It's a small community, you know? We are family; we become family because we know each other well. (P4)

Participation

Emphasizing cooperative living provided the bridging of housing attachment and the reciprocal community attachment through neighborhood interaction and participation:

We reach out to the high school's to see if they would help out the homeless program. We talked to a lot of woodshop teachers and they were interested in it. A lot of their machines were what we have in the shop here, so the saw stop, Lafollette High School woodshop has one like it, so we got one. (P3)

We depend on our neighbors to come in, so we interact with them almost daily when we do our plant sale. We raise plants all winter and then in the summer; we do enough in the beginning of the spring so we're doing a plant sale (P4)

I love interacting, I love the cause, I love when we, you know, when we have to go to like churches or something and speak, you know? I do that a lot of times, we go and try to raise money, you know? I'm willing to work for this organization to make this village happen because it's with the residents you know everything that happens here it's because we wanted to happen this is ours. (P4)

Participating in Occupy Madison was expanded through the concept of giving back to the neighborhood community. Participant One ended the interview by describing his reasoning behind participating in the study:

You can write this down in bold letters, that Occupy Madison has taught us help others when you can and that is a really honest, from my heart statement. You know, we can do things like this for someone like you we actually almost jump up and down for joy. (P1)

At the time of the interview, I hadn't given the statement much thought until I read through the transcripts. I've since reflected upon this several times. It felt as though he found his purpose, not only within Occupy Madison Village, but by giving back to the larger community.

Community advocates participated in community outreach with the residents, including volunteering at neighborhood events and fundraising. Key Informant Two described the new event the residents and volunteers were participating, "We just started having a table at the north side farmers market which is on Sunday mornings." Another key informant reflected upon volunteering with the village:

I think I am a significant contributor to various things that we have going on here in terms of, you know, a farmers market Sunday. I participated in other projects here, I raised, you know, several thousands of dollars (KI1).

Summary

The integration of community focused principles of cooperative housing and cohousing included participatory governance, collective decision making, and member participation, with private and communal spaces. Descriptions of participatory

governance, decision making, and design created an environment that encouraged individuals to develop place and community attachment. Community and neighborhood participation encouraged experiences that generated long term residency, self-esteem, pride, and empowerment. Tiny houses, described as spaces of privacy and security, were valued as secure and safe place when compared to prior experiences with homelessness. Although the sizes of the houses, 99 square feet, were described as both “not enough room” and the “perfect size”, size appeared to accommodate storage and provide security of personal belongings. The village included bathroom amenities in the community space; however, participants did not describe the lack of interior plumbing as a hindrance to their residential satisfaction. The descriptions of size were intertwined with descriptions of a space that allowed for some flexibility in design. The tiny house design and communal space provided proximity to form friendships and a sense of belonging. The participants’ responses acknowledged self-identification through the housing design; however, pointed out deficits in both individual housing and communal features, such as laundry. Future phases of remodeling and construction were planned if grants and donations were forthcoming

The time and effort invested through participation in community activities by the residents appeared to contribute to a stable environment. Descriptions reflecting participation in the development of the village appeared to contribute to a sense of pride and accomplishment. The influence of housing attachment and community attachment yielded outcomes such as sense of belonging, pride, self-efficacy, and community. When asked about personal characteristics of residents, Key Informant Three responded:

I think tenacity, yeah, you know? Like really, it was just really like people weren't gonna give up and they were really passionate about it. They were really hot, like especially for the folks who are homeless, you know? They're homeless, they're gonna deal with all this crap. All the other things like where am I gonna eat, where am I gonna sleep, you know? All these things, but they were just really in it, you know, really passionate about it. Hopeful I guess, you know, about the setbacks and lots of, no you can't do that, no you can't do that, no you can't do that. People just joke, no I'm gonna do it! They were really like, we're gonna do this, there's got to be a legal place for people to live! I think they really believed there had to be a solution, one way or the other, eventually, right?

A sense of community extended beyond Occupy Madison Village, and appeared as attachments to the larger neighborhood and high levels of housing satisfaction. Based on their descriptions of home and community and examples of attachment, the majority appeared satisfied with their housing; there was little propensity to move. Key Informant Three summarized:

You know the whole housing first philosophy is real, right? You know, you have a place to be, a place to take a shower, and a place to sleep at night. You're not gonna get kicked out of or you know you can actually get a good night's rest. Like [one of the participants] he has a full-time job now. I mean, yeah, you know, he really is able to be [himself] and do his thing and keep a full-time job and before they were only working at labor ready and day job places and stuff. [Another participant] also has a job but she's been through a lot, she broke her ankle and all kinds of things happened, but she's able to maintain a job . . . she has a car now.

So there's, you know, it's just a little bit more stability for everybody and I do think they really developed leadership skills. They go to meetings and participate in, like meaningful ways, and feel like they belong there, you know? (KI3)

Chapter 5: Interpretation and Conclusion

Introduction

Tiny houses, a recent design option or housing type being explored as an option for housing the homeless, had not been extensively researched. Therefore, little was known regarding resident experiences as a basis for evaluating and improving the design. The purpose of the study was to describe the phenomenon of people with a history of homelessness living in Occupy Madison Village. The intensive case study, conducted in Madison, WI from February 2018 thru September 2018, sought to describe how people with a history of homelessness experienced living in a community of tiny houses.

The study provided a voice for an often voice-less population by providing a platform for shared experiences and self-defined concepts through the perspective of individuals who were previously homeless. The researcher analyzed the participants' words through an iterative process of data analysis and literature research. The relationship of interconnections between participants' descriptions of their experiences, life in an encampment and a tiny house community, and the development of place attachment was developed through constant analysis. The conceptual model, formulated through an iterative review process of data analysis and literature review helped identify patterns and categorical findings. The participants descriptions of self-governance, community decision making, elements of community and housing design, and place and community attachment yielded themes and subthemes, such as design, tenure, belonging, purpose, pride, participation, self-efficacy, leadership, housing satisfaction, and community and neighborhood engagement.

Interpretation

To set the context of the participants housing history, they described homeless unsheltered conditions they had experienced. Experiences included doubling-up with friends or living in vans during to the Occupy Madison demonstration; descriptions also included various experiences of homelessness prior to the establishment of Occupy Madison Village. The participants' descriptions of barriers leading to homelessness were not similar to one another; however, reflected the range of episodic and chronic experiences described by the literature. Loss of employment, eviction, mental health, and physical health were descriptions of events leading to episodic and chronic periods of homelessness. The participants shared descriptions of homeless living provided a deeper understanding of living on the street, in a van, or in a tent. The challenges faced while living homeless included navigating seasonal temperatures, finding adequate shelter and displacement from city officials. The participants' experiences reflected the scope and scale of barriers individuals face when homeless

Participation in the Occupy Madison demonstration brought members of the homeless community and community advocates together for the purposeful cause of economic equality and solidarity. The developed relationships were bonded through the three year process of tent encampment development and eviction. Finding solutions to overcome seasonal weather, relocation, and tensions between the tent encampment and city officials appeared to bond the tent encampment members and community advocates. Tent encampments, while not sustainable housing due to building materials, safety and sanitary issues, NIMBY-ism, and overall ethical concerns, were occasionally considered an affordable interim option for shelter when municipalities were seeking other

sustainable forms of housing. Key Informant Three summarized their collective goals, “. . . we just kept looking for solutions, and looking for solutions, and looking for solutions, and looking for solutions and finally, you know, we did end up sort of disbanding. But then we still knew all these people who were still homeless, and so then our next solution we thought of was the tiny houses.”

This study helped fill the gap in literature by exploring community focused housing developments as an alternative solution for housing the homeless, and the impact place and community attachments have on housing outcomes. The conceptual model based on research findings was revised to include the described findings (see Figure 17). The model incorporated findings from community focused housing approaches, place and community attachment relationships and influences, and outcomes. The reciprocal relationships represented by arrows in the final model illustrate the interconnections between the themes discovered in the analysis and illustrate the findings concerning the research question:

What is the lived experience of individuals with a history of homelessness living in a tiny house village?

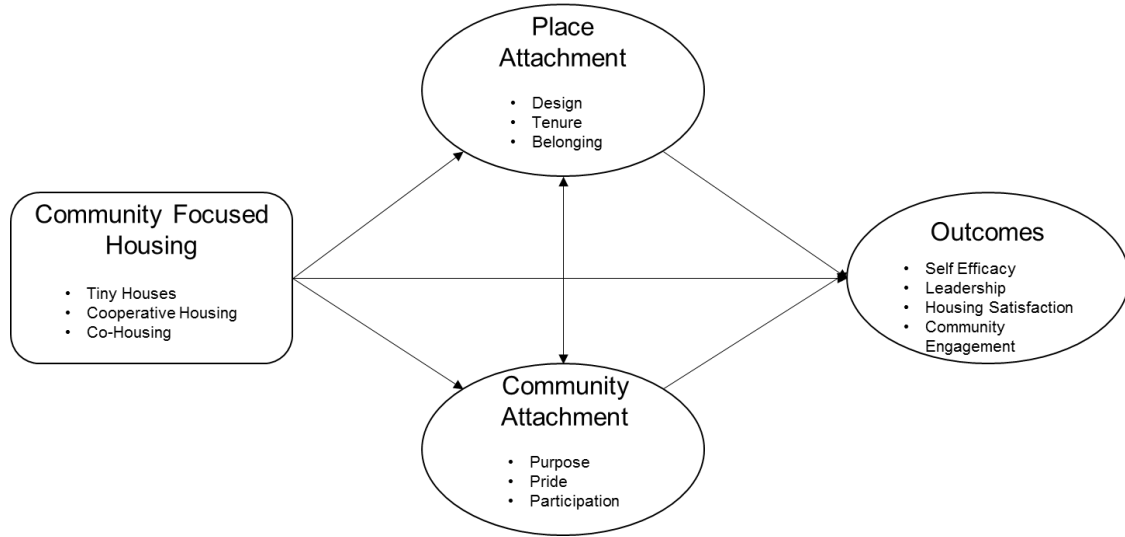


Figure 18. Conceptual Model Based on Research Findings

The concepts of housing approaches and attachments were provided as exploratory themes based on the literature review. The meanings of each concept were undefined in the pre-analysis conceptual model; the participants’ constructed definitions were interpreted and categorized into subthemes. The community focused approaches of governance, decision-making, and communal focused design appeared to provide a robust interdependent community focused system.

All of the residents provided descriptions of decision-making in the best interest of the community. An example summarized by Participant Five, “Any decision that I’m voting on I think like, I think like, what would be the best for everyone you know. . . we came up with like the systems of how we get the bathroom clean, you know, and try to make everything fair.” Descriptions of increased place and community attachments included outcomes communal housing design features, long-term housing, a sense of belonging, purpose and pride for the project, and increased community participation.

A strong sense of community did not eliminate the opportunity for conflict; however, conflict resolution methods allowed for differences to be expressed and provided opportunity for community cohesion (Fromm, 1991). Decisions occasionally created board-resident or resident-resident conflict; however, other expressions of pride resulting from participation appeared to off-set the descriptions of conflict. For example, Participant Four expressed pride when reflecting on the success of the village, “I love what we do here, I love, you know, being involved in the gardens, you know? Being involved with making all the jewelry that we sell here, work in the shop, doing all the, you know, woodwork that were doing and sell our things.”

Private and communal spaces of Occupy Madison Village mirrored co-housing elements in the design of larger communal spaces and smaller private residences. The communal courtyard, wood-shop, garden, and greenhouse promoted opportunities for member interaction and building a sense of accomplishment. Although participants described the kitchenette as insufficient for meal making, the communal area appeared adequate for monthly community pot-luck meals. Communal space maintenance was addressed through a process of community decision making as described by Participant Three, “Basically when we’re in a co-op living place, we share like tiny houses or areas or sections, people who do like chores and take turns and trying to provide for the place”. Future design goals of expanded communal spaces appeared to address kitchen, laundry, and bathroom deficits; however, the time-line and funding source was still unknown. The design of the tiny house lacked private bathrooms or running water; however, the houses provided the option to personalize the space, a feature described during the interviews

and observations of exteriors painted in colors representing Madison and Wisconsin sport teams and porches decorated with flower plants.

Place attachment was fostered and influenced by the interdependent sense of safety and security. The participants' descriptions of backpacks and stolen items emphasized the raw struggle of living homeless. The transition to stable housing within a community of relationships between residents fulfilled the basic need of safety and security. Each of the participants provided specific examples of their tiny house as being a roof over their heads, a place to lock their personal belongings, and a space to relax and watch television. Participant Four's account of "feel(ing) safe because it's home" is interpreted as an element of place attachment. Occupy Madison Village provides the basic need of safety and security; the foundation of security is cultivated and maintained by long-term tenure and stability. The size of the tiny home, 99 square feet, did not appear to impact the livability or satisfaction of the residents. The lack of interior plumbing was not included in descriptions; however, lack of laundry facilities was specifically mentioned by one resident. Laundry was an included amenity planned in a future phase of development.

The time and effort invested through participation in community activities while living in a secure space appeared to contribute to a stable environment. The participants reported living at Occupy Madison Village between two to three years at the time of the interviews. Most of the participants used prideful descriptions of their housing tenure. A minority of participants reported the stable living environment provided opportunities for employment and larger purchases. Outcomes from a stable environment may have influenced each participant differently based upon individual capacity. For example,

stability may strengthen long-term tenure for a few participants while strengthening individual capacity for others.

Place attachment, identified in the participants' descriptions of purpose, appears to influence the process of bonding to Occupy Madison Village. Descriptions characterized the village as an on-going project and a location where residents develop a sense of belonging. Researchers reported in a study among homeless youth “. . . peer groups fostered a sense of collective solidarity rooted in the bonding/support experience” (Stablein, 2016, p. 312). This study provided further insight into “the sense of collective solidarity” that can be developed among adults with varied histories of homelessness.

All of the resident participants of Occupy Madison Village provided examples of not feeling accepted or fitting into the community. Given the small number of total on-site members it is an interesting insight into the participants' perspective of belonging. The participants gave extensive descriptions of purpose and engagement among community members. Therefore, not belonging could be identified as a deviant as all the participants had similar descriptions of not fitting in yet also described feelings of pride in community accomplishments

Descriptions of belonging and not belonging were highlighted by Participant Three's answer to the question, “Do you feel like you belong?” his response:

A lot of times with the residents, you know, there's problems with residents between I do this I do that . . . the real issue is teamwork and between people's lives or just being an asshole to someone, there's issues here and it's hard to get along with other people.

Although the participant did not answer the question directly, the response provided insight into the challenges confronting the members' sense of belonging. The response deviated from his earlier response "I don't know what it would take to move on, knowing you'll leave something behind." The findings included positive prideful community descriptions and the emerging patterns of community successes often included descriptions of belonging; however, and individual one-on-one interactions appeared to prompt descriptions of not belonging. A sense of community appeared to yield an increase in positive experiences, including a sense of belonging.

Community attachment, a bonding process of social engagement and participation, was interpreted through descriptions of interactive purpose and pride, empowerment, and community and neighborhood participation. The process of community attachment increased community and neighborhood participation, self-esteem, feelings of pride, formal and informal community governance, and quality of life (Dekker, 2007; Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014). All of the participants' enthusiastically described purpose and pride toward Occupy Madison Village as a project. Prideful accomplishments were described as a long-term interactions and a process of overcoming challenges and problem solving. Individual empowerment and community participation, included accomplishments of employment and purchasing power in addition to active participation in the neighborhood community.

A surprise, or unexpected finding, was the relationships between the community focused approach, place attachment, and community attachment had upon housing aspirations. I had anticipated data would demonstrate positive relationships between housing stability and propensity to move into larger, more private and normative housing,

such as, renting an apartment or purchasing a house. Based on an assumption that individuals strive to secure housing with at least one bedroom per adult, a bathroom, and a kitchen, I expected participants would describe aspirational goals similar to a normative American housing trajectory such as apartment rental or home ownership. The majority of the participants indicated their long term housing plans were to stay at Occupy Madison village. The goals resulted from the time invested into the community and its success and perhaps the relative newness of housing stability. Similar attributes could also be found among long-term homeowners attached and invested to their home and community.

The purpose of the study was to describe the phenomenon of people with a history of homelessness living in Occupy Madison Village, a tiny house village located in Madison, Wisconsin. The participants' descriptions were analyzed to identify their perceptions of the experience. Occupy Madison Inc., a nonprofit membership group with an elected board of directors was guided by their vision and mission statements:

Vision: A non-profit membership organization dedicated to creating a participatory, nonhierarchical, democratic community where people with or without safe, stable housing can live and/or work cooperatively to relieve poverty and promote dignity, safety, stewardship and sustainability.

Mission: To join together to create a more humane and sustainable world, one tiny idea at a time (Occupy Madison Inc., 2015d, p. 1).

The participants' long-term stable housing, a measurement of project success, emphasized the interdependence of community focused housing, and place and community attachment. The findings were a robust intertwined system; each category

appeared dependent upon the other. Outcomes of the system included residential satisfaction and increased individual capacity. Neighborhood engagement and participation increased with the philosophy of ‘giving back’ to the community and neighborhood. The community focused system included participant descriptions, both positive and negative; however, descriptions of pride, purpose, and friendship were overwhelming. The outcomes supported a successful solution to housing individuals with a history of homelessness.

Implications

Implications are developed to inform urban planners, community developers, and housing advocates. By providing a contextual understanding of the lived experience for an often voiceless population, community developers and organizers may evaluate community needs by incorporating best practices from a variety of housing approaches into their neighborhoods as a positive housing alternative for individuals experiencing homelessness. The study provides insightful and foundational patterns and categorical definitions and meaning of themes. The study results may not be generalizable to all tiny house cooperatives as the phenomenon and analysis were location specific. Homeless housing solutions may not be limited to one size fits all among the diverse communities found across the country. A continued dialogue with community homeless individuals and their housing needs may further the understanding of the interdependent dynamics of the community focused system of housing.

Further research needs to be completed to provide a comprehensive understanding of the tiny house experience through the perceptions of individuals who have been homeless. Understanding the relationship of housing type and concepts of housing

attachment and community attachment as defined by the previously homeless would focus limited funding for permanent shelter with neighborhood infrastructure. If tiny houses provide a viable, efficient solution that not only house vulnerable individuals but result in satisfaction and community engagement, incentives for the development of tiny house villages should be allocated. Further investigation is also needed to similarly guide funding decisions for supportive services that influence the development of self-efficacy and leadership skills

Alternative solutions exploring the tiny house phenomenon should be incorporated into the larger homeless conversation to provide an understanding of housing options among communities. Community housing approaches reflective of the populations' needs and wants may yield long-term stability. Neighborhoods incorporating housing type and community diversity that fit the needs of the homeless would provide a richer understanding how the role of attachment influences housing stability.

More work needs to be done to explore the reciprocal influence between housing type, housing attachment, community attachment, and individual and collective influences upon housing outcomes. The tiny house model needs to be replicated in other locations and with various subpopulations. A variety of implementations will allow for the evaluation of fit between models, locations and populations. The tiny house village model is innovative; however, policy decision makers do not know if there is one "best practices model". More research is needed to evaluate if the key to successful development dependent on participatory planning to identify specific needs of specific groups of residents.

This intensive location specific case study includes insightful descriptive responses from participants living in Occupy Madison Village, a tiny house community for individuals with a history of homelessness. The case study reveals a robust housing model incorporating a variety of community focused housing methods. The experiences include descriptions of a tiny house village that overcame years of housing barriers through a persistent and resilient community focused interdependent network of housing approaches, place attachment, and community attachment. Measurable success is observed though long-term housing increased self-efficacy, impactful leadership skills, and community engagement.

Conclusion

Tiny house communities as a solution has been largely overlooked as an unsustainable fad housing alternative; however, understanding the broader approach to housing as a sense of place with physical and community attachments provides insight for customized housing meeting the needs of communities and neighborhoods. This case study explores the lived experience of individuals with a history of homelessness living in Occupy Madison Village, a tiny house village. Individual descriptions of the lived experience further the understanding for alternative housing design for people with a history of homelessness.

This study seeks to fill the gap in literature exploring the lived experience and the created meanings of housing and community attachment within the tiny house village. The tiny house lived experience offers contextual understanding for policy makers, community developers, and community advocates as they evaluate their communities for supportive housing alternative for homeless individuals. The outcomes could impact how

policy makers and community developers approach zoning and land use by allowing the development of smaller units to meet community needs. Understanding the relationship between the built environment and constructed attachments may influence how housing for long term homelessness is managed by incorporating place and community attachment attributes into the community.

Researcher Reflection

The recent housing movement that includes housing design features of smaller footprints, sustainable materials, environmentally friendly mechanicals and utilities, and is financially affordable appears to provide an alternative housing solution for individuals with a history of homelessness. People experiencing homelessness have a limited number of shelter options including either physical shelter spaces through county and state support, creative alternative shelter such as vacant structures, bridge over passes, park benches, other non-housing environments, or doubling-up with family and friends. The approach to housing design, categorized as ‘tiny houses’, not only provides for an alternative perspective towards housing structure and design, but housing approaches and attachments.

The study provides an insightful experience to a life I have not lived. I have limited personal experience with homelessness, or any personal experience living in a tiny house; however, I work directly with individuals with a history of long term homelessness. My understanding is deepened by the stories of hardship and defeat, and the successes of strength and achievement. I am surprised by the participants’ open candor and raw descriptions of trauma, mental health, pride, and community.

The decisions I made throughout the study were dependent upon the participants' experience. For example, originally, I considered the emphasis of place attachment as the primary drive toward mobility as an outcome; however, community attachment appears to influence stability and belonging leading to aspirations to remain in the village. Community based categories described by the participants and key informants influenced my coding process and included multiple levels of comparison coding to capture the shift in my original expectation.

The interlinking experiences provide a deeper understanding of interdependency within the community. The experiences of homelessness, tent encampment, eviction, relocation, and tiny houses weave web of community engagement and perseverance. The creative determination to achieve housing is inspiring. Persistence and resilience are common characteristics in the participants and key informants. The recordings, transcripts, and coding process provides a comprehensive appreciation for what the participants endured, and overcame, to create a stable environment.

Future studies are encouraged to spend more time in the field observing the daily experiences of the participants. Balancing a professional yet informal relationship with the participants may yield in depth descriptions rather than formalized scripted responses from a single interview. All of the participants are from the Midwest, over 50 years old, white, with some post high school education. Future studies would be encouraged to explore the relationship between demographics, location, and the interest in living in tiny houses. Future studies are advised to expand the scope of the participants to include city officials exploring the formal process of permitting and zoning, and future tiny house villages within the city. Neighborhood residents should be interviewed to gain insight

from the larger community. The expansion of participants may provide best practices for future villages. Incorporating these suggestions would eliminate the limitations from this study design, and provide a comprehensive understanding of the lived experience from multiple perspectives.

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Appendix A

Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a research study about living in a tiny house village. You were selected as a possible participant because you are a resident of Occupy Madison Village and have an experience with homelessness. We are seeking your input to better understand how a resident of Occupy Madison Village, with experiences with homelessness, defines or describes “the meaning of home.”

Background Information

The purpose of this study is to explore the experience of living in a tiny house village for individuals with a history of homelessness.

Procedures

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to participate in an interview asking for you to describe your experiences living at Occupy Madison Village. The student will take notes, and record your answers. We will not ask anyone to share confidential information about you; we want your own descriptions of your experiences.

Risks and Benefits of Participating in the Study

The study poses minimal risks. Interview questions will ask for your experiences and opinions. You may refuse to answer any question that may make you uncomfortable.

Compensation

There is no formal compensation offered with this research study.

Confidentiality

The interview answers and observation notes will be kept confidential. No individual will be named on interview or observation sheets, as well as any reports or presentations made on behalf of your home environment. Final reports and presentations will not include any information that would identify a participant. Written permission will be secure before photographs are taken of you or your homes. Research records will be kept in a secure, safe location and only researchers will have access to those materials.

Voluntary Nature of the Study

All participation in this study is voluntary. The decision of whether or not to participate in the study will not affect your relationship with your home facility (including staff and administration) or the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate in the study, you are welcome to refuse any answer or withdraw your participation at any time without affecting the aforementioned relationships.

Contacts and Questions

Any questions or comments you may have about the project, interviews, observations, photographs, reports, or presentations may be directed to Dr. Marilyn Bruin, mbruin@umn.edu, (612) 624-3780. Any questions you may have now or later are welcomed.

If you have any questions or concerns of the study that you would like to discuss with someone other than Dr. Marilyn Bruin, you are encouraged to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware Street SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455, or (612) 625-1650.

Participant signature _____ Date _____

Investigator signature _____ Date _____

Appendix B

Interview Questions for Member Participants

Date_____

Interview begins_____

Interview ends_____

Setting_____

Introduction and explanation of consent form.

I am a graduate student at the University of Minnesota; I am seeking your input to better understand what it has been like to live in a tiny house community. Your experiences of living homeless, as well as your experiences living at Occupy Madison are important to hear. With your consent, I will be recording our conversation and taking notes. If at any point, you feel as though you would like to stop, please let me know, and we will end the interview. Do you understand what I have explained? Do you have any questions?

Interview Questions for Occupy Madison Village Resident Members

1. What brought you to Occupy Madison?
2. Please describe what it's like to live here.
3. What do you enjoy about living here?
4. What keeps you here?
5. How long do you plan on staying here?
6. What are your long term goals?
7. Who else do you think I should talk with?
8. Are there questions you think I should have asked, but I didn't?
9. Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

Appendix C

Interview Questions for Key Informants

Date_____

Interview begins_____

Interview ends_____

Setting_____

Introduction and explanation of consent form.

I am a graduate student at the University of Minnesota; I am seeking your input to better understand what it has been like to participant in a tiny house community. Your experiences with Occupy Madison are important to hear. With your consent, I will be recording our conversation and taking notes. If at any point, you feel as though you would like to stop, please let me know, and we will end the interview. Do you understand what I have explained? Do you have any questions?

Interview Questions for Key Informants

1. What was your role in establishing Occupy Madison?
2. Who was a key community participant to establishing the cooperative?
3. What are the characteristics of these people/person do you feel helped establish the village?
4. Who were key homeless participants to establishing the village?
5. What are the goals of the village?
6. Have you observed any changes in the residents since establishing the village?
7. How strong is the feeling of togetherness or closeness in the village?
8. To what extent do any differences characterize the village?

9. How does the community overcome problems?
10. In your opinion, is the cooperative generally peaceful or disruptive?
11. Overall, how much impact do you think you have in making the village a better place to live?
12. To what extent do local government and local leaders take into account concerns voiced by you and people like you when they make decisions that affect you?
13. Does the village work with or interact with groups outside the cooperative?
14. Who else do you think I should speak with?
15. Is there anything you feel I should have asked, but have not?

Thank you! I'm going to turn off the recording now.

Appendix D

Coding

A code legend was created to provide consistent transcript coding formatting. The formatting allowed the researcher to remain consistent throughout the coding process, allowed for consistent transcript comparison, and was included in both individual and collective frequency tables.

Table D1

Code Descriptions and Abbreviations

Question	Descriptor	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
Q1	Personal History (PH)	Homeless (HL)	Reason for Homeless (RFH)	Shelter (S)
Q2	Tiny House (TH)	Experience (EXP)	Advocate/OM (AOM)	Tent City (TC)
Q3	OM (OM)	Living Needs (LN)	Employment (EMP)	Minimalistic/No Possessions (MNP)
Q4	Clarification (CLAR)	Personal History (PH)	Meets Needs (MN)	Home (H)
Q4 prompt	Belong (Belong)	Relationship (REL)	Security/Safety (SS)	Gardening/Woodworking (GW)
Q4P1	Tiny Houses Homeless (THFTH)	Member (M)	Size/Space (ss)	Laundry (L)
Q4P2	Community (COM)	Social Capital (SC)	Doesn't Meet Needs (DMN)	Kitchen/Cooking (KC)
Q4P3		Belong (Belong)	Homeless (HL)	Room to Rent (RR)
Q4P4		Volunteer/Participate (VP)	Tiny House (TH)	Homeless (HL)
		Requirement (REQ)	Personal History (PH)	Living in Van (LV)
			Interact/Involved (II)	Health (Health)
			Family/Support (FS)	Volunteer/Participate (VP)
			Kitchen/Cooking (KC)	Community (COM)
			Renting (Rent)	Family/Support (FS)
				Location (Loc)
				Pet (Pet)

Appendix E

Category Count Example

Each coded transcript was sorted and counted as a percentage of the participant's total codes. The categories were counted as an attribute to the overall theme. Counts and percentages allowed the researcher to identify individual descriptive tendencies. The example transcript identified 38 descriptions of 'community'. The 38 community descriptions included 17 categories of 'volunteer participation' (Com/VP). The individual frequency counts furthered the understanding of each participant's experience. The frequency tables informed the researcher of collective experience of all the participants, and highlighted any inconsistencies or deviant cases. The collective comparison of all of participants' frequency tables contributed to support findings.

Table E1

Participant Three theme and category description count example, (n = 249)

Themes/Categories	Count	%
OM/COOP	52	20.88%
Housing/HL	25	10.04%
OM/GOALS	24	9.64%
OM/EXP	21	8.43%
Community/VP	17	6.83%
Personal/PH	16	6.43%
Place/GW	13	5.22%
OM/CON	10	4.02%
Community/NN	8	3.21%
Community/II	7	2.81%
Place/SIZE	6	2.41%
Personal/HEALTH	5	2.01%
Place/TENURE	5	2.01%
SocialCapital/EMP	5	2.01%
Community/BELONG	4	1.61%
Housing/TC	4	1.61%
Place/PRIDE	4	1.61%
OM	3	1.20%
SocialCapital/POS	3	1.20%
Place/SAFE	2	0.80%
SocialCapital/FIN	2	0.80%
THFTH	2	0.80%
Clarification	1	0.40%
Community/AOM	1	0.40%
Community/DS	1	0.40%
Homeless/HL	1	0.40%
LivingNeeds/DMN	1	0.40%
LivingNeeds/MN	1	0.40%
OM/TENURE	1	0.40%
Personal/PLAN	1	0.40%
Place/BATH	1	0.40%
Place/HOME	1	0.40%
SocialCapital/POS	1	0.40%
Total	249	100%

Table E2

Participant Three Theme and Category Count and Percentages, (n = 249)

Theme/Cat	Count	%	Theme/Cat	Count	%
OM/COOP	55	49.55%	Housing/HL	26	86.67%
OM/GOALS	24	21.62%	Housing/TC	4	13.33%
OM/EXP	21	18.92%		30	100.00%
OM/CON	10	9.01%			
OM/TENURE	1	0.90%	Personal/PH	16	72.73%
	111	100.00%	Personal/HLTH	5	22.73%
			Personal/PLAN	1	4.55%
Com/VP	17	44.74%		22	100.00%
Com/NN	8	21.05%			
Com/II	7	18.42%	SocCap/EMP	5	45.45%
Com/BLNG	4	10.53%	SocCap/POS	3	27.27%
Com/AOM	1	2.63%	SocCap/FIN	2	18.18%
Com/DS	1	2.63%	SocCap/POS	1	9.09%
	38	100.00%		11	100.00%
Place/GW	13	40.63%	LivingNeeds/DMN	1	50.00%
Place/SIZE	6	18.75%	LivingNeeds/MN	1	50.00%
Place/TENURE	5	15.63%		2	100.00%
Place/PRIDE	4	12.50%			
Place/SAFE	2	6.25%	THFTH	2	100.00%
Place/BATH	1	3.13%		2	100%
Place/HOME	1	3.13%			
	32	100%			

Appendix F

Comparison Total Theme and Category Count

Table F1

All member participant theme and category description count, (n = 900)

Theme/Categories	Count	%
OM/COOP	90	10.00%
Personal/PH	81	9.00%
Housing/HL	78	8.67%
Community/II	52	5.78%
Community/VP	39	4.33%
Place/GW	38	4.22%
Community/BELONG	37	4.11%
OM/CON	36	4.00%
OM/GOALS	36	4.00%
Place/OM	34	3.78%
Community/AOM	30	3.33%
Place/PRIDE	29	3.22%
OM/EXP	26	2.89%
Community/NN	23	2.56%
SocialCapital/EMP	23	2.56%
Place/TENURE	22	2.44%
Housing/TC	20	2.22%
Housing/RR	19	2.11%
Place/SIZE	19	2.11%
Personal/HEALTH	18	2.00%
SocialCapital/POS	17	1.89%
Community/DS	14	1.56%
Personal/PLAN	12	1.33%
SocialCapital/FIN	11	1.22%
Community/FS	10	1.11%

Table F1 (Continued)

All member participant theme and category description count, (n = 900)

Theme/Categories	Count	%
Housing/PLAN	9	1.00%
LivingNeeds/MN	9	1.00%
LivingNeeds/DMN	8	0.89%
Place/SAFE	8	0.89%
SocialCapital/STABILITY	8	0.89%
Housing/GOAL	7	0.78%
Housing/LOC	5	0.56%
Community/SC	4	0.44%
Personal/FAM	4	0.44%
Place/BATH	4	0.44%
Place/HEALTH	4	0.44%
Place/HOME	4	0.44%
Place/KC	4	0.44%
Community/FAM	3	0.33%
Personal/LOC	2	0.22%
Place/QUIET	2	0.22%
Place/L	1	0.11%
Total	900	100.00%